

Sociology and Social ... Research ...

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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

September-October 1948

THE MAIN METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

F. STUART CHAPIN
University of Minnesota

Sociological research may be divided into five methods, which are both supplementary and complementary. All of them are in current use and are listed below in inverse order of newness; that is, the older and more widely known methods are noted first. This memorandum deals only with fundamental methods of research, not with methods of applying the findings of research to the problems of human relations; in other words, the so-called recent term *action research*, although relating to an important aspect of sociological work, is not dealt with, since it is my understanding of this symposium that "the main methods of sociological research" is intended to refer to fundamental method.

1. *The historical method*, for the analysis and criticism of documentary sources which describe and record aspects of human behavior and social relations of the past. Here it is usual to distinguish between primary and secondary sources, and between internal and external criticism. The classical presentation of this method is still C. V. Langlois and C. Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History* (1912). Brief summaries of the method appear in F. Stuart Chapin, *Field Work and Social Research* (1920) and in George A. Lundberg, *Social Research* (1942).

2. *The case method*, for the study of individuals, groups, and social institutions: (1) the comparative study of many cases and (2) the longitudinal study of one case over a long period. The classic works in this field are still Mary Richmond, *Social Diagnosis* (1917), and W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1920). Elaborations and applications may be found in the published works of Angell, Cooley, Dollard, Merten, etc., in the many recent studies of interviewing techniques, and summaries in the texts on social research of Chapin, Elmer, Lundberg, and P. V. Young.

3. *The statistical method* is too elaborate and well known to describe here. Furthermore, there are many texts in as many fields of special appli-

cation, although the best known which contain applications particularly to sociological research are Margaret Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists* (1941); T. C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics* (1941); R. C. White, *Social Statistics* (1933); and, most recently, J. G. Peatman, *Descriptive and Sampling Statistics* (1947). Applications of statistical method are fundamental to studies of human ecology, population problems, time series analysis, and in sociometry. I regard the last named, sociometry, as a subdivision of this section and of 5 (1) following.

4. *Sampling methods* is now such a highly developed subdivision of mathematical statistics and has received such elaboration in the fields of population research, agricultural research, and public opinion polls that it may well be mentioned separately, although it is really a large subdivision of statistical method. Sampling studies have largely superseded the old "social survey" method, replacing this superficial type of study by the use of refined techniques which give reliability and precision. For the introductory approach, Peatman's text, cited in section 3, is useful. For mathematical treatment the research worker may consult the standard works of R. A. Fisher, M. G. Kendall, C. C. Peters and VanVoorhis, G. W. Snedecor, G. U. Yule, and many other more specialized works. In 1949, Harper & Brothers will publish an entirely new type of treatise on sampling, a book entitled *Surveys, Polls and Samples*, by Dr. Mildred B. Parten, in which that author's extensive experience in the practice of large-scale sampling will be drawn upon to give research workers a detailed description of the step-by-step processes involved in all the operations of modern sampling.

5. *Observation under conditions of control* of as many of the independent variables as possible has developed into two somewhat new and supplementary methods of sociological research: (1) *sociometric scale construction*, including sociometry, and (2) *experimental designs of study*.

The construction of *sociometric scales* to describe human behavior in social relations gives the research worker reliable and valid schedules, tools of observation, score cards or measurement devices for quantitative description. Most of the texts on methods of research outline the procedures of scale construction for the study of attitudes, social distance, personality traits, social interaction, and social status.

Experimental designs is the name for a method of study long used and well known in biological research, educational research, and psychological research, but only recently applied to the study of social relations. In experimental designs the scales noted above are used for two purposes:

first, to obtain control over variables by matching the measurements on these variables for an experimental group (which is to receive some program of treatment) and a control group (which is not exposed to the program of treatment so that it may serve as a frame of reference); and, second, other scales are used to measure the different degrees of change in the experimental group and the control group, that is, to measure changes in the dependent variable. In this way the problems of value behavior may be studied with less bias, prejudice, or subjectivity than by observations made without controls. Ernest Greenwood's *Experimental Sociology* (1945) was the first systematic effort to summarize the extensive literature in this field and to make critical and comparative appraisals of experimental studies published before 1945. F. Stuart Chapin's *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research* (1947) supplies a detailed description of the step-by-step processes and operations to be performed in an experimental design study, and is based upon an analysis of nine experimental studies previously published. Greenwood gives a comparative study of the basic logic underlying experimental research on human relations, and Chapin gives a detailed analysis of the operations of statistical logic and applications of probability theory which underlie nine typical studies.

In addition to its use in the measurement and appraisal of value behavior (means ends schemata), experimental design also opens up the possibility of objective description of the larger and more impersonal social forces which may be observed as the unplanned consequences of combinations of many independently planned social actions. The narrow and more personal social forces begin as specific means ends schemata, planned independently by different interest groups; but in "the great society," with its elaborate communication systems and secondary group organization, these plans of special interest groups combine in unplanned ways, and the resultants are the unplanned or "natural" social forces of panics, inflation, or wars. Experimental design study that begins with the special planned actions of interest groups, which are the real "grass roots" of impersonal social forces, may by replication gradually build a system of dependable knowledge which in time will lead to understanding of these larger or "natural" social forces.

MAIN METHODS, PRINCIPLES, AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

Harvard University

Since I have written a great deal about these problems,¹ I merely sum up here some of the basic conclusions.

1. The "integral cognition" of social phenomena derived from (a) empirical observation in all its forms—experimental-inductive, statistical, clinical—(b) mathematical, syllogistic, and dialectic logic, and (c) super-rational "intuition"—the cognition in which the testimony of the sense organs, logic, and intuition mutually test and supplement their results—guarantees a more adequate knowledge of sociocultural phenomena than the cognition derived from only one of these sources. In spite of the inimical attitude of many sociologists toward "intuition," the greatest discoveries in the social as well as the natural sciences have been made through exactly this "integral method of cognition."

2. The three-componential structure of sociocultural phenomena, especially the component of meanings-norms-values (not given in physical and biological phenomena) makes the "meaningful-causal" method the main method of study of sociocultural phenomena. Purely causal method is applicable only to an insignificant fraction of these phenomena (to what I call sociocultural "congeries" in contrast to sociocultural "systems"). The same peculiar nature of sociocultural phenomena makes necessary for sociology its own referential framework of the basic principles of sociocultural causality, space, time, change, motion, velocity, tempo, rhythm, periodicity, trend, and so on up to the concepts of sociocultural systems and congeries. These principles are homologous but not identical with corresponding principles of the natural sciences.

3. Of the utmost importance in the application of any technique of research is the preliminary elucidation as to whether we are dealing with sociocultural systems or sociocultural congeries. The whole logic and technique of study of systems and congeries have to be essentially different. For instance, the prevalent way of "atomistic" factorial analysis of taking any sociocultural phenomenon as an independent variable and studying its relationship to another phenomenon as a variable through observational,

¹ Cf. my *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, 4 vols.; *Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time; Society, Culture, and Personality; Contemporary Sociological Theories; Social Mobility*.

statistical, experimental techniques is legitimate in regard to sociocultural congeries and quite inadmissible in regard to sociocultural systems. Most of the methodological principles valid in a study of the static and dynamic properties of systems have to be fundamentally modified in a study of the static and dynamic properties of congeries and vice versa. This basic difference is still not understood adequately, and its neglect is one of the main sources of most of the fallacies in sociological theories.

4. As to the specific techniques—experimental, clinical, statistical, and others—each of these in its proper field, when properly applied, is valuable and fruitful. Experimental and strictly mathematical (in contradistinction from statistical) techniques have hitherto been developed little. Their application meets enormous difficulties. Nevertheless they are most promising and are to be cultivated increasingly.

5. In my humble opinion, American sociologists should reinforce themselves in (a) epistemological-logical analysis, and (b) a more systematic and adequate application of historical material and induction. Such a reinforcement would prevent some of the fashionable maladies from which American sociology suffers, such as "discovery of America" in sociology after it was discovered long ago; mass-contagion with various pseudo-scientific fads like "semantics," psychoanalysis, "operational method," and other specious techniques and theories which are either a less perfect variation of much better, long-known approaches or are spurious and unscientific. The reinforcement will also help in a better discrimination between what is really important and what is not in the new studies and theories.

SOME PROBLEMS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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Methodology in sociological research should concern itself chiefly with (1) the objectives in view, (2) the area, setting, or problem involved, and (3) the "times." This last item involves complete sensitivity to the social process in the area involved at the time the research is under way, with knowledge of the relationships to other aspects of the cultural milieu.

Specifically, there is need to see the Southwest, perhaps Southern California alone, as a fertile area for regional and community research. There should be an inventory of existing researches, past and present; these researches should be classified, categorized, and evaluated; and a conference on research methods should be held.

At this conference there should be first a definition and agreement upon the meaning and usage of some fairly old but loosely used terms, such as *acculturation*, *assimilation*, *integration*, etc. (What is an integrated community? What standards are to be used to determine the degree of integration?) Next, a careful mapping of the field may give vistas showing where research is needed, which in turn may provide the key to the rest of the pattern.

Some older studies on learning a language, social distance, and standards of living should be brought up to date or re-evaluated. For instance, there is immediate need for information on standards of living among professional, occupational, and minority groups. Panunzio's study of 100 Mexican American families in San Diego was very useful during the 1930-38 depression, but what of today? Ruth Tuck's work in San Bernardino included standards of living but only incidentally to the larger study. Leonard Bloom and his collaborators gave an excellent picture of the Los Angeles Japanese family during the war, but what has happened since?

Social processes are in ferment in Southern California. The great influx during the war years of white and colored persons from the South challenges our old patterns of behavior. In Los Angeles, Chino, and Monrovia, workers among Mexican Americans are organizing communities

* Deceased, May 1948. An article on Dr. Carlson as a sociologist, written by Dr. Abbott P. Herman of the University of Redlands, will be published in an early issue of *Sociology and Social Research*.

for political purposes. What does this mean in terms of elections and attitudes toward education, occupations, and international affairs? Farmers and others are increasingly aware that there is need for water and soil conservation and that cheap public power cannot hurt anyone. Ought not sociologists to direct their research toward these phenomena?

My personal experience with political organizations and legislatures and with administering public programs reminds me that time is an essential part of many contracts. Time should be the essence of much sociological research, for otherwise much of its meaning and usefulness may be lost. Individual researchers with few if any funds are often unable to do a research job quickly enough to make its impact felt where and when it could be most effective. Thus one reason for a regional research conference with a pooling of funds is obvious.

In urban areas there is available not only U.S. Bureau of Census information but much reliable and useful data from chamber of commerce, school district, and other surveys. This could be worked over and made meaningful to citizen groups. In small towns and rural districts such wealth of dependable information is lacking. There it is often necessary to collect primary data in order to make comparisons with the information available in urban areas. When this is done comparative community studies may be made which may prove surprisingly fruitful.

To be effective in our times sociologists should be able to speak objectively and with some authority concerning public policy in political issues, consumer and labor problems, interracial tension, etc. To do this, fresh, accurate information is imperative. Would it not be worth while to organize on some cooperative basis so that this kind of information could be made quickly obtainable when needed?

Could sociological knowledge not be made much more useful and up to the minute if we forgot some of our individualism and streamlined our techniques to the jet-plane tempo of our age? Political organizations, government, research foundations, and commercial firms are far ahead of the colleges in sampling, interpreting, and controlling public opinion.

Some sociologists fear to speak because "all the facts are not in." In a dynamic society will all the facts ever be in? Shall we remain ineffectual in the field of social control while waiting for the facts, or can we develop a sociological research technique which will remain objective and yet increasingly assist in shaping our world to more constructive goals?

METHODOLOGICAL TRENDS IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

FLORIAN ZNANIECKI

University of Illinois

Sociology as a science grows continuously through the cooperative contributions of many scientists. The process of its growth, like that of every science, consists in progressive selection, definition, and solution of problems which previously developed theories left unsolved, and in progressive systematic integration of these solutions into new theories. The problems on which sociologists have been working are probably more diverse than those of any other science, and the methods used in selecting, defining, and solving them differ considerably. Are there any general principles recognized, if not by all sociologists, at least by those who purposely try to contribute to the development of their science as a distinct branch of human knowledge?

I think there are three such principles. First, sociology is intended to develop as an *inductive* science; that is, sociological theories are expected to be based upon discoveries of some kind of observable factual order among empirical data, and sociological problems are meant to initiate a search for some kind of factual order hitherto unobserved or inadequately observed. Second, sociology is intended to develop as a theoretically *objective* science of empirical reality, though its discoveries may be used to invent new techniques for modifying empirical reality. Third, sociology is intended to develop as a *nomological* science, that is, to reach systematic generalizations about phenomena rather than synthetic descriptions of particular concrete complexes of phenomena.

In comparing various methods used by sociologists, we find that some methods have proved ineffective, if judged by these principles. The growth of sociology as an inductive science has often been impeded by the use of methods which, from premises dogmatically assumed to be absolutely true, led to deductive conclusions determining a priori what problems sociology should investigate and what solutions it should reach. Some metaphysical dogmatists assert that all social phenomena must be defined as parts of a material universe; others that all of them must be conceived as parts of a spiritual universe. Some epistemological dogmatists claim that only data of sensory experience are reliable sources of knowledge; others that only data of "inner," nonsensory, experience can be reliably known. Logico-mathematical dogmatists believe that only those problems can be consid-

ered scientific which are defined in advance in such a way as to have their solutions expressed in mathematical symbols. Dogmatic believers in intuitive understanding deny that any sociological problems can be solved by the use of quantitative methods. Moreover, the development of sociology as an objective science is being impeded when sociologists are trained or made to select for investigation only those sociological problems which are presumed in advance to be important for the realization of certain practical ideals. However, the influence of these various deductive or ideological methods seems to be decreasing, probably because of the very conflicts between them.¹

The main methodological difficulty which all sociologists are facing at this time is how to further the development of sociology as a nomological science. Every problem of nomological science begins with a tentative choice of data of a certain hypothetical class, to be investigated and compared with other data in abstraction from the infinite multiplicity and diversity of phenomena among which they are found. Classification of empirical data, based on their inductively ascertainable similarities and differences, is the foundation of all scientific generalizations. It took many centuries for natural scientists to discover that data can be validly and objectively classified only if defined as limited systems of interdependent components (living organisms, chemical compounds, mechanical systems, energetic systems) or as components of such systems or both as systems and as components of more complicated systems. As the example of modern biological sciences shows, given an inductively validated taxonomy of limited systems, it is possible to make valid causal generalizations about changes of systems of a certain class under the influences of certain environmental changes, to generalize about functional connections between systems of different classes, to draw general conclusions about the origin of new classes of systems.

When sociology started to develop, it was supposed to follow the example of natural sciences. But, instead of adopting the methods of the latter and applying them consistently to social phenomena, most sociologists began by borrowing certain naturalistic ontological concepts which interfered with the application of these methods. The data which they selected for investigation were "men" or "human beings," as biopsychological entities, and "societies" as geographically located and demographically circumscribed agglomerations of such entities.

¹ Cf. F. Znaniecki, "Controversies in Doctrines and Methods," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. L, No. 6.

Now, a "human being" is neither a limited system nor an element of such a system. Although on his biological side he is definable as an organic system, one of the many subclasses investigated by zoologists, on his psychological side, as a conscious being, he is a vast and fluid complex of psychological phenomena, illimited in diversity and inseparable from environmental phenomena both natural and cultural. There is no possibility of any coherent taxonomic classification of these ontological entities as wholes; we find only a multiplicity of typological cross-classifications according to widely different "traits." Consequently, no valid causal or functional laws of factual relationships between human beings as such or between human beings and environmental systems have ever been formulated; we find only multiple, diverse, logically unsystematized statistical correlations, positive or negative, between specific mass phenomena occurring among human beings of various types under various conditions. Moreover, the theory of "society" as an organic or superorganic system of human beings has been invalidated, and we find only overlapping typologies of human collectivities located in various natural areas and characterized by a wide diversity of cultural complexes.

However, in surveying the history of sociological research, we notice another methodological trend, much more promising scientifically. Many sociologists in formulating their problems do not try to contribute to an inclusive "science of man," but select for investigation phenomena of an entirely different category, which may be termed *human actions*. This is also being done more and more consistently by other "social" and "cultural" scientists—economists, political scientists, linguists, religionists, comparative students of material techniques, of art and literature. A human action is a limited, dynamic system of changing values as experienced by the agent and by observers. It can be investigated and compared with other actions without studying the biology and psychology of the agent who performs it. Moreover, many actions are performed collectively, and a collective agent obviously is not a biopsychological entity. Since old classifications of actions by "instincts," "wishes," "desires," "motives" have proved scientifically worthless, more recent classifications are based on similarities and differences which depend on the cultural standards by which agents define and evaluate the objects of their actions and on the cultural norms which they follow in dealing with these objects.

We cannot survey here the methods used by specialists in other sciences of culture when they investigate culturally patterned actions in their respective domains. Eventually, we hope, a general inductive science of

culture, based on comparative studies of many classes of actions, will grow up through cooperative efforts; as yet, we have only various divergent philosophies of culture.

Sociologists, however, are already developing a cooperative investigation of *social* actions, where the main objects are human individuals and collectivities. These actions are also culturally patterned, inasmuch as their objects are defined and evaluated by certain standards, and certain norms are followed by the agents. But the objects of these actions, unlike those of other actions, are themselves conscious agents who also perform social actions bearing upon those who act upon them. The main task of sociologists is, thus, to investigate relationships between the actions of two or more interacting agents. If and in so far as these agents, in dealing with each other, accept and follow cultural patterns, which require that each define and evaluate the other in accordance with a certain standard and act upon the other in accordance with a certain norm, their actions together constitute an *axionormatively organized system*.

As we all know, some of the least complicated of these systems have been quite thoroughly investigated. They are usually called "social relations" or "personal relations," and include culturally patterned, interdependent actions of two individual agents, e.g., a "parent" and a "child," a "husband" and a "wife." Comparative studies of "social roles," i.e., axionormatively organized systems of social interaction between one individual and a number of others (e.g., a physician and his patients, a teacher and her pupils) have only started in this century, but they are indubitably progressing. However, this methodological approach is not yet consistently applied to the most complex social systems which have been investigated for a long time not only by sociologists but by political scientists, historians, ethnologists, namely, organized *social groups*. Traditionally, the inner order of such a group as a state, a church, a tribe, a clan is investigated as if it were "established" at a given time; the group is conceived as an essentially *static* system, with a definite "institutional structure." Consequently, problems of "social order" and problems of "social change" have been treated by many sociologists as separate and distinct, and, quite understandably, students of modern "societies" are more interested in social change than in social order.

If sociology is to continue to develop as a nomological science this dualism must be overcome. Changes are inherent in the cultural universe, just as in the natural universe. But scientists must distinguish between different categories of changes. An axionormatively ordered system of

social actions is no more "static" than any particular action. It is a dynamic system, which must be studied in the course of its duration, not at any cross section of its existence. Such studies should start with the process of formation of particular systems, for many systems which begin to be formed never fully develop—just as many organisms die at early stages of their growth. The very standards and norms which guide the course of a social system provide for some range of changes among the actions which compose it, though this range differs, depending on the pattern of the system (e.g., compare a scientific association with a bureaucratic office group). Only when we have adequate knowledge of various classes of systems, based on comparative studies of their dynamic order and the range of changes which they include, can valid generalizations about other categories of changes be reached. There can be causal generalizations, based on the discovery that the inner dynamic order of systems of a certain class undergoes similar changes under the influence of similar environmental changes (e.g., that similar conjugal relations undergo similar changes when husbands lose their jobs). There can be functional generalizations, based on the discovery that relationships between systems change in the course of their duration, as when processes of interaction between specific social groups change from cooperation to conflict or vice versa. Finally, there can be phylogenetic generalizations about the evolution of new classes of social systems, e.g., the evolution of numerous new species of professional and occupational roles during the last two centuries or the evolution of cultural nationalities as a relatively new class of informally organized groups from the fifteenth century on. And although all such generalizations must begin with a qualitative comparative analysis, the methodological measurement of changes, if inductively validated, may eventually lead to exact quantitative laws.

METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

WILLIAM KIRK

Pomona College

The Social Science Research Conference of the Pacific Coast met for the first time in 1931. It was an ambitious effort to gather together in annual meetings those persons who were engaged in research in the social sciences, with the object of "encouraging, stimulating and developing a more intense and intelligent interest in such research." Twelve annual meetings in all were held, with gratifying results in promoting friendship and better understanding among those who were selected to represent their disciplines: namely, anthropology and geography, economics, history, jurisprudence, political science, psychology and sociology, but with limited success in promoting scientific methods of social research. To some observers, sociology seemed to be at a disadvantage in the daily round-table discussions, partly because of the comparative youth of the discipline and partly because of the complex nature of the field which sociologists are called upon to cover. Sharp differences of opinion arose in every meeting between those who favored the qualitative and those who favored the quantitative method of research. Perhaps we may find in this conflict of ideas some reason at least for the question we often hear, "What is the matter with sociological research?"

There are sociologists who are inclined to argue in favor of qualitative over quantitative analysis in the belief that mechanical techniques are not enough, that philosophy, psychology, and sympathetic insight are essential to productive research. The trouble with all the social sciences, especially sociology, some say, is due partly to lack of vision and imaginative insight and partly to the need of a correlated method. A distinguished historian (James Westfall Thompson) at one of the meetings of the Research Conference said, in his opening remarks as president of the group: "You cannot extract quality from any amount of quantity. In the last analysis history is idea. The historian must needs know *what* has happened, but it is of more importance to know *how* it happened, and he will have little understanding of an event unless he knows *why* it happened. I have no doubt that this is the ultimate of the other social sciences. What counts in the history of humanity is not facts, but the form in which men picture them in their minds. There may be such a thing as 'method in madness.' There is something akin to madness in the methods of some social research

extremists." And then he added: "Many sociologists have the faith of the prophets of ancient Israel in their calling, and the precision of an adding machine in their technique."

In a word, the social sciences have succumbed to the mass of facts which they have accumulated. Facts in themselves are of minor importance. What counts in the study of humanity is not the facts but the significance attached to them. "Too many students of the social sciences endeavor to fix what is fluid." On the other hand, the sociologists who sponsor the quantitative approach to sociological research are firm in their belief that their method in time will lift sociology to the level of the natural sciences. One statistically minded scholar claims that "the prospect of exact social science and a consequent transformation of the social world comparable to that which the physical sciences have wrought in the physical world, would involve a far less imaginative leap than the scientific achievement of today would call for on the part of the scientist of several centuries ago."

However, those sociologists who find values in both methods see no reason for an extreme position on either side. In his defense of case studies as a scientific method, for example, one well-known sociologist, Ernest W. Burgess, has emphasized the notable scientific contribution of *The Polish Peasant*, which is based primarily upon letters, documents, and case records, and then concludes: "The methods of statistics and case study are not in conflict with each other. They are in fact mutually complementary. The interaction of the two methods is certain to prove fruitful." Again, in the words of another thoughtful student of research, George A. Lundberg: "The objection is often advanced that the important subject matter of the social sciences is qualitative and does not admit of quantitative statement. Much difficulty could be avoided if it were recognized that these two approaches instead of being mutually exclusive and antagonistic are really cooperative and complementary. They merely represent different stages of refinement and objectivity in a technique of description. These methods should work together as harmoniously in economics or sociology as they do in the chemistry."

Finally, in his summary and analysis of the conference on Blumer's excellent appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's, *The Polish Peasant*, Read Bain writes significantly: "None of the men of the conference believe that any one of these approaches alone is sufficient for sound research in the social sciences. They are all necessary. Illuminative interpretations, insights and organizing concepts are the source of hypotheses. Logicosystematic analysis is necessary both before and after empirical research is done.

Empirical research is the firm base upon which theories must be erected and is the most definitive and satisfactory means of testing specific hypotheses."

Another method less frequently used by sociologists, although it involves quantitative as well as qualitative techniques, deserves brief mention. Studies in culture contacts in other lands and analyses of preliterate culture patterns may possibly prove as fruitful in the unfolding of a science of society as the research of those who focus their attention exclusively upon the effects of the white man's culture upon racial minorities in this country. Furthermore, if we are ever to discover the laws of social becoming, we may need to study more carefully the social processes of preliterate or less advanced societies. In this type of study we may be able in time to differentiate between those forces that are peculiar to local situations and those that are universal in human society. To understand contemporary culture with its highly organized institutions and complex processes, we may soon be prompted to seek an answer in the culturally conditioned behavior patterns of simpler folk.

Let us now turn for a moment to two of the most successful works in American sociology. Opinions will differ here doubtless, but a majority of sociologists would probably list near the top Sumner's *Folkways* and Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*. *Folkways*, says Cooley, does not conform to any of the current canons of methodology. It is not qualitative, it does not proceed by the statistical method. It is not made up of case studies. Most of the material it uses is based on sympathetic imagination. Moreover, it is not in any great measure a work of direct observation at all. It is almost all second hand.

From this we gather that methodology certainly is not unimportant, perhaps merely that "we should not take the methodological dogmatist too seriously." It would appear that "a working methodology is a residue from actual research"; the men who contributed to it "did so unconsciously by trying to find out something which they ardently wanted to know."

To a certain degree the same comments could apply to Ward. For several years the writer had the rare privilege of close association with Ward in the social science department of Brown University and during that time enjoyed the opportunity of observing at close range a great mind at work. Methodology, as such, troubled him little, although his rich talent led him to work out for himself, probably unconsciously, a method best suited to the task of "trying to find out something which he ardently wanted to know." Ward did agree that sociology is a true social

science, subject to the same laws as physics or chemistry, and that all generalizations about social phenomena must be based upon the observation of facts and the interpretation of those facts. Moreover, he insisted that the psychic factor, through the use of the synthetic method, will be found to be as important in the study of human society as the chemical factor in the study of life.

If then, as some observers maintain, sociology has not advanced as rapidly as the other social sciences in the past quarter century, the relatively poor showing may be due, perhaps, to the fact that we have not had the equivalent of a Ward, a Sumner, or a Cooley to give us light and leading. This explanation, if true, brings us to a present-day situation which may be to some extent under our own control.

In many schools of higher learning sociology is still the stepchild of the curriculum, the object of such distrust and suspicion that the science is given either no real place or a severely restricted sphere of study and influence; and there are distinguished universities today that do not recognize a department of sociology at all. Is this neglect due to the failure of our sociologists to measure up to the standards set by the natural scientists and by other social scientists, or is it because our science cannot show the record of achievement which scientists in other departments and administrative officials deem necessary to win respect and recognition?

In the first place, it was unfortunate that *Dynamic Sociology*, great as it is, was hailed as the "last word," instead of a promising beginning in the new field of scientific inquiry. Then the Small-Gidding's armchair methodology was pushed into the background by the Thomas-Park field study and case method in sociological research. When this latter technique was challenged by those who favored more quantitative methods, the supporters of the case study technique, as we have already seen, argued that the methods of statistics and case studies are not in conflict with each other. They are in fact "mutually helpful and complementary." Here again we find that research students in sociology theoretically are in substantial agreement. More recently, however, in practice, the quantitative approach to sociological studies seems to be meeting with favor among the younger sociologists, and in the immediate future the emphasis will probably fall upon this type of research.

In fact, the trouble with sociological research seems to be not with the research methodology itself, but with the type of training we have given our college and university students. Our critics contend that we have a host of good, hard-working sociologists and occasionally a brilliant mind

who would be a credit to any profession, but at this stage of development good men are not enough. We may well ask ourselves, then, (1) are there enough *superior* minds in our calling to make the most of the newer techniques which are steadily gaining in favor, and (2) are there enough *superior* minds among the graduate students who are now seeking advanced degrees in our universities? These researchers are gathering abundant factual material, as every librarian well knows, and it is out of the cumulative findings of such particular, highly specialized researches that the material for general scientific evaluation and interpretations must come.

Ward's *Telesis*, Sumner's *Folkways*, Cooley's *Primary and Secondary Groups*, Thomas and Znaniecki's *Wishes and Values* are the result of *superior* thinking and exceptional planning. Is sociology today attracting the type of mind capable of interpreting and synthesizing the wealth of factual material accumulated by the statistical method?

So our problem shifts to the classroom and the seminar. How can we draw into the graduate schools from our colleges superior scholars who will dedicate their lives to the search "for something which they ardently want to know"? The type of research which promises to lift sociology to the status it deserves in the academic world calls for a rarer type of mind than the type that can master the technique of empirical research.

A committee of outstanding scholars, preferably appointed by the American Sociological Society, to recommend ways and means of "encouraging, stimulating and developing a more intensive and intelligent interest" in sociology among the *superior* minds in our undergraduate classes might render an invaluable service. It may be true that the future of sociology in America depends largely upon the enlistment of a more promising type of skill and talent than is now in training in many of our graduate schools.

THE SOCIOLOGIST VIEWS MARRIAGE PROBLEMS

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We who live in the Far West have reason to be proud of our hospitality, our educational achievements, our low infant and maternal mortality rates, and our high expenditures for recreation. We are not proud of the fact that the estimated divorce rate for the Mountain and Pacific states per 1,000 population in 1940 was double that for the remainder of the United States. The number of divorces increased steadily during the war, increased sharply in 1945 and 1946, and decreased in 1947. The record-breaking number of divorces after the war may be interpreted as a result of hasty marriages and divergent wartime experiences. For 1946, the ratio of marriages to divorces was roughly three to one in Washington, two to one in California, and almost one to one (7:5) in Oregon.¹ These statistics strongly indicate the need for constructive suggestions for the solution of marriage problems.

Three groups are represented in this audience: (1) those contemplating marriage, (2) newlyweds, and (3) parents. I have one practical recommendation for each group. For the unmarried couple: get well acquainted before marriage. For the newlyweds: you can build your marriage. For parents: love your children and set them a good example. Each one of these points will be discussed briefly.

1. *Get well acquainted before marriage.* The longer the period of acquaintance, the better the chances for a happy marriage. It is not so much the length of time that is important as the nature and stability of the relation between the two. Companionship is a better basis for this relationship than romantic love. Each partner should strive to see the other person as he actually is rather than as he is imagined to be.

Chronological age is less important for success in marriage than emotional maturity. Are you and your partner grown up enough to marry? In the city, marriages of persons under 20 show less success than those over 20; in the country this may not be true. In either location socialized, mature personalities are better able to meet any crisis, including marriage.

¹ The many Portland residents who marry in Vancouver, Washington, in order to escape the Oregon requirement of a medical examination tend to raise the Washington ratio and lower that for Oregon. The number of divorces per 1,000 population, however, is higher in Oregon.

Certain specific personality characteristics are associated with happiness in marriage. Optimists, those who are not dominant, those who are neither neurotic nor self-sufficient, those who are considerate of others, and (for husbands) those who are self-confident—these types of people make good marriage partners. Persons with opposite characteristics are less likely to be successful in marriage. Distinctly unfavorable to happiness would be the marriage of two pessimistic persons, more favorable would be the marriage of a pessimist and an optimist, most favorable would be the union of two optimists. The same principle applies to persons with neurotic tendencies or dominating personalities and persons who are critical and inconsiderate of others.

Variations in parental attitudes toward very young children may account for the fixation of many of these personality characteristics. Overprotection, for example, may lead to infantilization and lack of self-confidence. Overindulgence, in contrast, may develop a dominating, ego-centric personality pattern in the child.

For happiness in marriage personality needs should gear into each other. Roles expected should be similar to roles played. This is well illustrated by a lumberjack family that I met several years ago out on the Olympic peninsula. The husband had been the youngest of seven children and had grown accustomed to being looked after. The wife had been the next to the oldest of eight and had taken much of the responsibility for raising her six younger siblings. The husband was expecting to be managed; the wife was expecting to manage. In their marriage each played the role he was more or less unconsciously expecting to play. Result: a happy family in spite of the fact that the wife was boss. "It would go hard," she said, "if he didn't do what I wanted."

In addition to the partner's personality traits it is important to get acquainted with his cultural background. From this standpoint the degree of happiness varies inversely with the degree of difference. Dissimilarity of customs and traditions makes it difficult for couples to form a "unity of communicating personalities." In many cases that have come to my attention the wife has not realized, due to the short period of courtship, that the husband was raised in a European family tradition of male dominance and female subservience. Her American expectation of companionship was not realized in the marriage and unhappiness resulted.

What about marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic if both value their religion? In general, the greater the difference in religious

background, the greater the risk of failure. A modernist and a fundamentalist belonging to the same church might find married life incompatible.

2. You can build your marriage. Determination to make the marriage a success is an important factor in achieving success. Both war marriages and marriages immediately after a war are more hazardous than marriages during normal times. Most war and postwar marriages can be made a success, however, if the young people really want them to succeed. Happiness in any marriage is an achievement, not a discovery.

The marriage relationship is not static. It tends to move toward greater happiness or greater unhappiness. It requires a continuous series of adjustments to be successful.

"Each couple starts out only with the makings of the marriage," writes Evelyn Millis Duvall in her excellent booklet on *Building Your Marriage*.² "The real job lies ahead." In the normal marriage there is a gradual transition from romantic bliss to conjugal affection. The fundamental difficulty in hasty war or postwar marriages was that this gradual transition did not have an opportunity to take place.

Marriage problems are commonly problems of sex or money. Actually the researchers are finding that sex is secondary to personality and cultural factors in determining success or failure in marriage. For working out a sexual adjustment attitudes are more important than physical factors.

Several years ago I was counseling a married couple for whom the problems were money and sex, but the real difficulty was the spoiled-child personality of the husband. I recall spending an hour lecturing this "stubborn Dutchman" on how to be a good husband. After he had left the office I leaned back in my chair and thought: "Now, old boy, you're not so hot yourself." So I went down to the "Avenue" and bought a pot of red tulips. On the way home I thought to myself: "Now I'm the kind of guy that ought to be advising couples. I practice what I preach." Just as I came into the door of my house, however, it dawned on me that it was Valentine's Day! "Boy, what would have happened if I hadn't brought something home!"

The economic factor in itself has not been found significant for adjustment in marriage. In the middle-class marriages studied so far the amount of income seems to be less important than either its regularity or agreement in handling it. Occupations with small personal mobility and large social control, such as the ministry or teaching, are associated favorably with

² Available for twenty cents from Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

marital happiness. Least favorable are such occupations as truck driving, auto repair, and unskilled labor. Salesmen are especially interesting from this standpoint. A study of 17,533 couples in which the occupation of the husband and the happiness of the marriage were known placed wholesale salesmen in the highest quartile for marital happiness, store salesmen in the next, insurance salesmen in the third, and traveling salesmen in the lowest quartile.

Common activities and traditions strengthen the unity of a marriage. Enjoying leisure-time interests together, whether it is hiking, identification of birds, raising a seagull, work on a summer home, or travel, raising a family, developing unique expressions and ceremonies, participating in the life of a church—such activities as these help to bind a couple in a sturdy relationship.

"A preliminary examination of six thousand marital histories and of nearly three thousand divorce histories, suggests that there may be nothing more important in a marriage than a determination that it shall persist," write Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin.³ In a recent study of his own marriage an ex-G.I. wrote as follows: "My parents' marriage was hell on earth for both of them. My wife's folks' marriage was little better. We determined to make ours happy." Then, in detail, was described a unique method used by this ex-G.I. and his wife for making their early adjustments to each other and building their marriage. Sympathetic understanding—"the capacity to enter into and share the feelings, attitudes, interests, and experiences of others to such an extent that one is enabled to view these through the eyes of the other"⁴—is especially helpful in connection with the mildly divergent behavior of each spouse.

3. *Love your children and set them a good example.* We need to want, accept, and love our children. This will give our youngsters emotional security. If they don't get affection from us they will be looking for it from teachers, recreational leaders, and other parent substitutes. Situations should, of course, be defined for the child, but the most effective definitions are subtle. Neither domination over the child nor submission to his every whim is an expression of real acceptance. A balance between domination and submission is needed. As children grow older we should encourage them to become independent. In the words of St. Paul, "love is patient and kind."

³ *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948), p. 544.

⁴ Burgess and Locke, *The Family: From Institution to Companionship* (New York: American Book Company, 1945), p. 341.

As parents, we should also set our children a good example. They are more likely to copy what we parents *do* than what we say. As Dr. James S. Plant pointed out in Portland last year: "There is only one kind of authority that can take the place of authority of 'position' and that is the authority of 'example,' the authority of life itself,—the child will have faith only in those things in which we have faith. In other words, we must act as we wish our children to act."⁵

"The poorly adjusted child tends to become the ill-adjusted partner in marriage. The parent who is maladjusted in marriage finds it difficult or impossible to be a good parent," writes Richard L. Jenkins.⁶ "Thus the relation between maladjusted parents and maladjusted children, who tend in turn to become maladjusted parents, is a vicious circle that tends to repeat itself." Fortunately, the opposite of this is also true. Happy parents are more likely than unhappy ones to develop wholesome, well-adjusted personalities in their children. Children of happily married parents are more likely to be happy in their marriages. Thus the relation between well-adjusted parents and well-adjusted children, who tend in turn to become well-adjusted parents, is a happy circle that tends to repeat itself.

In conclusion, get well enough acquainted before marriage to learn the crucial personality characteristics and the significant cultural backgrounds of your partner. Remember that marriage is an achievement, not a discovery, and that determination to make it a success, common activities, and sympathetic understanding are important factors in marriage building. Finally, we are developing not only wholesome children but also better parents when we both love our youngsters and set them a good example.

⁵ *Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, Pacific Northwest Conference on Family Relations*, Portland, 1947, pp. 8-9.

⁶ Fishbein and Burgess, *Successful Marriage*, 1947, Part 4, Chap. 7, "How Behavior Problems and Juvenile Delinquency Result from Inadequate Marital Adjustment," p. 385.

DISHONESTY AMONG STORE CLERKS

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The subject of this paper was suggested by a conversation overheard several years ago. Two clerks from a large department store were talking; one said, "Oh, I always take five or six ties each Christmas as a sort of present from the store, but, for Heaven's sake, don't take fifty!" To this the other replied, "What's the difference?" This question of dishonesty among clerks appeared interesting, and the author welcomed the opportunity to investigate the subject more fully during the summer of 1947. The study was limited to six of the larger retail stores and three of the shopping services operating in Seattle. A list of questions was prepared, and these questions and an analysis of the answers given constitute the body of this paper.

What is the extent of dishonesty among clerks in your store? No definite estimate could be secured regarding the exact amount of dishonesty in any store. The wide range of the estimates is best indicated by quoting two of the answers: "We believe that people are fundamentally honest, but they will slip if too great an opportunity arises," said one store manager; another manager replied, "Dishonesty? Sure thing. Most everyone is dishonest. We lose a hell of a lot every year, more than we care to admit. We don't recover much either, for they will lie to your face every time, and unless you catch them cold it's dynamite." According to one of the shopping service firms, "Just watch a clerk and see how long she takes reaching the cash register. She should get there in from seven to twenty seconds. When a clerk takes longer, and many do, then you can be pretty sure she is starting to get ideas, crooked ones."

The amount to which clerks confess may not be a very good index of the amount they actually steal; some appear to underestimate, and some to overestimate the amount taken. In the confessions, the amount varies from \$20 to \$500, over a period of from one to six months. The average amount appears to be about \$250 to \$300. In cases where the dishonesty has continued for a long period, the amount often runs into thousands of dollars. Part-time employees take a lot too. One part-time employee admitted taking \$65 every Saturday night for eight weeks. Another claimed he didn't want to show up the regular clerks, so he just took anything over their daily average sales.

Is dishonesty increasing or decreasing since the war? No two of the six stores and three shopping services answered this question in the same way. The answers ranged from "considerably less" to "at least one hundred per cent more." The shopping services all reported increases. One said, "January to April is usually the period in which we catch fewest irregularities, for stores have less part-time help then, you know. This year we caught at least fifty per cent more in the first four months than we did in the same period in 1946." Another shopping service reported that they caught from one third to two thirds more this year than last, and added "of course department store clerks haven't as great an opportunity for dishonesty as auto services and groceries; hardware is a pretty good place for the dishonest clerk too; but even in department stores we have caught nearly fifty per cent more this year than last, and much more than before the war."

How is this dishonesty discovered? There are five chief ways in which dishonesty of clerks is discovered—through other clerks, through audits and inventories, through floor walkers and detectives, through the shopping services, and through clerks check-out departments. In three of the six stores interviewed it was revealed that many of the tips on clerks' dishonesty came from other clerks in the same department. Sometimes these tips are phoneys, but usually they are quite authentic. In some cases several clerks make the report together. A store which consistently endeavors to gain and hold the confidence and respect of its employees frequently gets this cooperation in maintaining high standards of honesty.

Inventories and audits are a second way of discovering dishonesty, but usually only indicate the department in which shortages occur. Detectives and floor walkers also help to catch irregularities. As a rule, however, the dishonest practices of shoppers occupy the detective, while customers' queries bombard the suave and courteous floor walker so continually he has few free moments for other observations.

The shopping service can be and is used in three ways—to keep clerks from dishonesty, to detect dishonesty in clerks, and to provide the firm with a report on the quality of service given by the clerks and the regularity with which the store's rules are followed. None of the shopping service firms could give any estimate of how valuable their services were in preventing dishonesty, and evidently no study of this factor has been made. The second and most commonly accepted function of the shopping service is the detection of dishonesty. The firm either contracts with the

store to supply so many shopping reports a month for a certain price, or to shop the store regularly for a certain percentage of the recovery. The shopper makes a purchase in the usual manner, except that he may increase the opportunity for dishonesty by a careless attitude or a hint that he is just passing through town, thus removing any fear of "refund action." Some shoppers appear to favor setting the stage for dishonesty, while other agencies shop either in a random fashion or as requested. Some agree to cover every clerk once every six months. All follow the precept: "Appear casual, don't seem interested in what the clerk does with the money, try to get away without a sales slip." When irregularities are noted, the store management may request the agency to shop the clerk again for further evidence, though some stores prefer to caution their clerks at once.

The final function of the shopping service is to provide the store with reports on the clerks. Sales approach (courtesy, tact, pleasantness), sales suggestibility (suggesting alternative and additional items), ability to create article demand (to present the article in a favorable way), general appearance (neatness, not looks), and the regularity with which store routine is followed are the main items included in a shopping report. This third function appears to be more effective than either of the other two in lessening dishonesty. It presents a more positive approach, for the clerk knows he is being shopped, that promotions are based on the reports, and that any customer may be the one making the report.

The fifth means of detecting dishonesty is a parcel check-out system for employees. The parcel check-out is of great value in discouraging light-fingered practices.

In what ways are clerks dishonest? The most obvious dishonest practice is taking goods. In stores in which the author worked in the past this was a commonly accepted practice, and even department managers were known to look the other way as long as the clerks "used sense in the amount they took." With such a great quantity of goods available a clerk is tempted to assume "just one" will never be missed, but store managements explain temptation does not mean a thing without opportunity. "Unless there is some chance of escaping detection, people will remain honest," says one local detective agency. Stock rooms and shipping rooms would seem to offer many opportunities for dishonesty, but the larger stores claim they lose very little there. They give as the reason, "Many of our stock room boys have risen to be on the management, they have a greater incentive to honesty. The stock there and in the shipping room is checked and double checked." The more rigorous the checking, the less the store loses, but a

rigorous check must be maintained. All but two of the stores report quite large losses due to stolen goods.

The "refund game" has been used successfully in several of the large Seattle stores. It is very profitable and has sometimes avoided detection for long periods of time. There are many variations, the simplest being where one person is entrusted with the responsibility of paying all refunds. This person, if dishonest, can manipulate regular and phoney refund slips and, either alone or with an accomplice, can do quite nicely so long as one or both do not get too greedy. The most successful operators apparently work alone, and in spite of the fact that more and more care is used with refunds, there still are occasional cases where a respected employee confesses to anywhere from \$2,000 to \$15,000 gained from this sort of dishonesty. Another refund angle exists where an entire refund book can be stolen and the slips made out, the required initial forged on them, and the amount paid. Several cases of this were found in the Seattle area, some resulting in losses amounting to as much as \$2,000 to \$3,000.

Some stores make the sales clerk responsible for refunds. The customer returns the goods and sales slip to the clerk who made the original sale. This clerk makes out the refund slip and takes the goods, sales slip, and refund slip to the department head, who initials or signs the latter. The clerk then returns the goods to stock and pays the customer. For the sake of economy, and to avoid trusting any one person with too much money, this system is sometimes used. It, too, is vulnerable, for clerks can fake sales slips or pick them up from the floor, make out the corresponding refund slips, take the goods from stock, get the transaction OK'd, and pay themselves.

Stolen goods and phoney refunds account for but a small percentage of the amount stores lose through dishonesty. The chief loss occurs through cash register manipulation. Every firm interviewed gave the same picture—"There is the cash register with its eighteen keys. What tune it is going to play depends on the clerk." The music of the register can be false harmony or true depending on the store's attitude toward clerks, the carefulness of the clerks' training in the store, the degree of laxity in the store routine, and the personal reaction of the clerk to opportunities for dishonesty. "Once the money is rung in properly there is no opportunity for the clerk to take it out and avoid detection." This statement was heard again and again from store officials. The decision has to be made in those seven to twenty seconds that the clerk has the money in her possession. Sometimes the sale is not rung in at all, and the clerk stows the money

away in her shoes or other parts of her clothing. This is very dangerous, however, and soon is noticed by someone else. The general practice is to ring in something, as is well illustrated in the confession signed by one clerk from a large department store. This confession, in substance, is as follows: "I have been working in the store for over a year. The first six months or so I was strictly honest. One day about six months ago I was unusually tired and seemed to be making a lot of mistakes. When I got home I found that I had \$2.00 in my pocket from a sale that I had not rung in. I remembered the case; the customer was in a hurry and shoved the money into my hand and took the article without wrapping. As I was going to the register to ring the money in, another customer stopped me and demanded service. I was really frightened, for I hadn't ever been dishonest before and didn't know what I would say if I was asked to explain my action. I didn't sleep at all that night and the next day the first thing I did was to make out a sales slip and ring in the amount. What a relief it was to have the money in the till! Now I could say that I didn't really mean to take it. But no one asked any questions and as weeks went by I realized that I had gotten away with it. Then I thought, why not correct any mistakes I make that way? It was very easy. My register always balanced and I never needed to have any corrections approved. Still no one caught on. Of course I couldn't always give a sales slip. Then I started taking a dollar here and a dollar there. I did it mostly on \$2.50, \$3.50, and \$4.50 sales and would ring up one dollar short. To keep track of how much money I had in the till I would put a pin in the drawer every time that I rang up the one dollar short. At the end of the day I merely had to count the number of pins in the drawer and take that much out. The register always balanced. Yesterday I was counting the pins when the department head, Mr. . . . , said, "What are you doing with all those pins?" I couldn't think of anything to say, so I told him the whole story. I guess I have taken about \$500 in the last six months." This case occurred in a store which has a shopping service, but the girl was caught by other means. To her, the apparent laxity of the system gave an opportunity she couldn't resist. It appears reasonable to believe the girl's story of her early honesty. The idea of using pins was her own innovation. Other systems of tallying have been used, and clerks have been caught by check marks seen on their sales book or on slips of paper. According to detective agencies there are from one to ten opportunities a day for a clerk to be dishonest.

Another system of cash register manipulation consists of ringing up the right amount but overcharging the customer and withholding the cus-

tomer's sales slip. This is often caught when the customer wishes a refund. Then, however, it is the customer's word against the clerk's and the customer has no sales slip to back up her statement. If the duplicate slip or register tally retained in the store is checked, the clerk's statement is upheld. Some doubt may remain, in which case the management usually requests shopping service reports on the clerk involved.

The clerk who has many "no sale" rings should be checked for cash register manipulation. Some of these rings may be necessary, but the more times the "no sale" appears, the more opportunities the clerk has for dishonesty. When the customer wants change for the parking meter or for phone calls, the clerk is often the most accessible person to give such service. Stores have found, however, that it is cheaper to install a coin machine or employ a change clerk than to permit every clerk to make change.

In general, register manipulation is the chief type of dishonesty among clerks. This is one of the main reasons for placing cash registers in a conspicuous place and at least at eye level.

What type of clerk is dishonest and what is the reason given for the dishonesty? Although it appears clear there is no such thing as a dishonest type of clerk, the great majority of those caught in dishonesty are young unmarried girls, sixteen to nineteen years of age, in many cases from good homes. Few male employees have access to money, and when caught in a dishonest practice it is usually taking "souvenirs" or things for personal use, like ties, shirts, knives, cameras, and phonograph records. There is some tendency for older clerks, even department heads, to be caught. One store had a department head who reported that money was taken from her purse. Then many other thefts from purses were reported in her own and surrounding departments. A close check finally revealed that she herself was the guilty one. Part-time clerks are frequent offenders, with the result that the shopping services are kept very busy during vacation time and the Christmas season.

Most stores reported that during the war they were forced to employ many inferior clerks and that insufficient staff made it impossible to check references. Two escaped convicts were employed in one store and were apprehended in dishonesty there. One was a murderer from New York state. It is indeed surprising to find that at present, with many applications for each job, shopping firms and most stores still report increasing dishonesty.

According to employees' confessions, the reasons for dishonesty are varied. The following reasons were culled from twenty-five or thirty confessions reported to the author.

"I just wanted to have nice clothes."

"I wanted more spending money. I got much more during the war."

"I have to give most of my pay check to mother. I want a few things for myself."

"Other girls steal too. I'm just unlucky enough to get caught."

"I wanted to send nice presents to my sons in the service. It seems I have nothing over when I pay all I owe."

As can be seen from the above, none gave dire need as the cause of dishonesty. The statement of one personnel manager seems to cover the situation very well. "Most dishonest clerks," he said, "merely claim that they deserve more than they are getting. They never consider that they agreed to work for a certain salary—no one forced them to accept the position."

What action is taken by the store if a clerk is suspected of or caught in a dishonesty? Store policy in handling dishonesty varies greatly. Store A usually gives the clerk a second chance, with an opportunity to make restitution. Store B treats the first offense as an irregularity and merely warns the employee. Store C usually dismisses a clerk detected in dishonesty and attempts to get a confession, not for the amount recovered, but for the purpose of steadying "these kids who aren't really bad but have just started to slip." Stores D and E always dismiss the clerks and try to get restitution, although usually they are not successful in getting a confession. Store F fires anyone who is suspected of dishonesty and doesn't worry about recovery, for "shyster lawyers are always eager to get such a client and damages cost more than any possible recovery."

To what extent do stores cooperate with each other in detecting dishonesty? There seems a surprising lack of cooperation among stores in reporting dishonesty. The attitude seems to be, "Let them find out for themselves that she is a crook." Such a practice assists the clerk who "goes straight" after being caught, but unfortunately gives many more opportunities for the dishonest clerk who merely improves her techniques. Obviously no clerk will give as reference a store from which she was dismissed for dishonesty. In some cases, however, where two stores are shopped by the same firm, a clerk is recognized and a close check kept. The reason for this extreme caution with regard to unsatisfactory references appears to be fear of suits for defamation of character. Some stores cooperate to the extent that when queried about a clerk they report, "Yes, that clerk worked for us but was checked out by . . . agency." This does not necessarily cause dismissal from the new job, but results in close checking of the clerk mentioned.

Means of preventing dishonesty. From an examination of the answers given by the management of the retail stores included in this study the most effective means for lessening or eliminating dishonest practices among the clerks appear to be as follows.

Give each clerk, whether full or part time, a complete training program emphasizing the store's policy toward customers and clerks.

Explain fully the checking system used and why it is used.

Emphasize and use the positive side of the shopping report. Praise as well as censure on the basis of the report.

Insist on a strict routine being followed at all times.

Warn the clerks about borrowing. Assure them that the firm is behind them and will aid in any temporary financial need.

Be above board and fair with the clerks.

If any irregularity occurs, treat it as an irregularity. Don't brand the clerk as a criminal.

Be lenient even with confessed dishonest clerks. Give them a chance to make restitution, but check them continually. Tell them you are doing so.

If they don't respond to this treatment, get a full case and bring them to trial if possible. If this is impossible, fire them anyway.

Avoid every possible opportunity for dishonesty.

EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH IN SOCIOLOGY

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Research methods in sociology depend on the kind of social situation that is to be studied. Naturally the choice of methods will vary or a combination of methods will be used according to the kind of problem on which research is to be done.

Of the various methods in sociological research the control-group method appears the most exact and reliable. It gives at least fairly dependable bases for accurate prediction, which is a fundamental test regarding the significance of a research method. Of the various control-group methods, the projected control group provides for the most rigorous treatment of data and gives the most significant results.

At this point, however, the question can be asked: Can there be an experimental sociology in the sense of controlled experiments? Some sociologists answer yes, and suggest that everything which is going on in human relationships is experimental. It has been pointed out that numerous social experiments are taking place all the time.¹ This comment indicates the difficulties that are involved by virtue of the numerous variables concerned and of the interacting of these variables. If the ingenuity of the sociologist is great enough, he can study the natural experiments going on all about him, and by tracing current variations to earlier differences and by accounting for other factors he can achieve reliable findings. The cross-sectional method of selective control² and the ex post facto method have unexplored possibilities.³

Since the projected control-group method goes further in experimental research than the other methods, it is given the main attention in this paper. It makes measurements at a given time, according to a specific and appropriate scale of behavior, of an experimental group whose individuals are matched for as many important factors as possible with the members of a control group. The experimental group is submitted to a special program or set of stimuli for a given period of time; the control group is not given such a program but experiences all other factors that the experimental group experiences in as constant a way as possible. At the end of

¹ See F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Design in Sociological Research*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947.

² *Ibid.*, Chap. III.

³ Discussed at some length by Ernest Greenwood, *Experimental Sociology* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1945), p. 49 ff.

the given time period, both groups are again measured against the same scale as at the beginning to see which group has changed more during the experimental period and whether there is a significant difference in the changes. In other words, the groups are selected first and then a stimulus is given to one group for a length of time and not to the other in order that the effects on the experimental group may be measured along with the reactions of the control group, which in the meantime was presumably experiencing about the same set of circumstances as was the experimental group except for the one especially introduced factor. This is probably the most rigorously scientific method known in sociology. It uses social groups as its subject matter. It seeks to match the members of the two groups with reference to many basic factors, applies a stimulus to one but not the other, measures the resultant actions against a common scale of reference, and compares the results.

The projected control-group method of sociological research involves several steps or stages, which will now be briefly analyzed.

1. The statement of a problem naturally comes first. This exercise sounds easy, but usually it is very difficult. Generally the first attempt covers too much ground. Often the statement has to be made over, perhaps more than once, because the further it is considered, the more precise the statement can be made.

The exercise also involves several questions in semantics, for every word or term in the statement of a problem is likely to have more than one meaning. Hence the most accurate term for a given meaning is necessary. A part of this difficulty can be met if operational terms are used. If each term accurately states an operation or a part of an operation that is performed clarity will be furthered.

2. Closely related to the wording of the problem is the statement of a hypothesis or hypotheses regarding the nature of the problem or of some aspect of it. A hypothesis is sometimes misconceived as something to be proved. Unconsciously a research person may direct his efforts toward obtaining proof and not remain unbiased. A hypothesis is a proposition to be tested. The results may go one way or the other. There is much to be said in favor of the null hypothesis, which is stated negatively. For example, instead of declaring that "improved housing conditions lower the delinquency rate," the null hypothesis would read, "a change in housing conditions does not change the delinquency rate." It will be noted in the null hypothesis that the psychological tendency to be under obligation to prove something positive is lessened if not eliminated. Furthermore, the

null hypothesis as stated avoids the use of a value judgment (a subjective reaction) that is included and even emphasized in the positively worded statement, namely, the term *improved*.

3. The selection of an experimental group comes next. If it includes all the members in its particular classification of the population, then no question of sampling arises. If it is not feasible to consider all the members, then random sampling may be used, by choosing, for example, every fifth or tenth name on an alphabetical list. The aim of random sampling is to guarantee that the sample may be as representative as possible of the total group which is being considered. But the total group may not be homogeneous and hence controlled or stratified sampling will be used. The group under study may contain dissimilar elements unevenly distributed. In other words, the group may be heterogeneous as to attitudes and interests. In order to take these factors into consideration the Gallup and Roper polls, as examples, interview people according to their numerical distribution as to "geography, occupation, age, sex, political affiliation, race, religion, and general cultural backgrounds."⁴ If there are twice as many people in one occupation as in another then the sample will include twice as many persons in the one occupation as in the other, and so on.

4. The selection of a control group naturally follows. The control group is so secured that it will be as representative as the experimental group. In addition, care will be taken to have the control group experience all the major stimuli to which the experimental group is subjected with the exception of the one factor to which the experimental group is subjected.

A desirable method is to divide a homogeneous group of persons by some alphabetical means into two equal and similar groups and treat one as the experimental group and the other as the control group. In this way it is possible to obtain fairly accurate results.

5. In order that as much similarity may be had as possible between the experimental group and the control group the device of identical individual matching is used here, as in all controlled-group experimentation, with reference to as many important factors as possible, such as age, sex, racial backgrounds, educational status, economic status, religious affiliation, and so forth. For every factor in which identical individual matching is obtained, the number of persons in each group will be decreased. For instance, in an

⁴ George Gallup and Saul F. Rae, *The Pulse of Democracy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1940), p. 60.

experiment conducted by Helen F. Christensen all the boys and girls were considered first who either graduated from the high schools of St. Paul in 1926 or dropped out during that year.⁵ They constituted a total of 2,117 subjects, of whom 1,130 were graduated and 897 dropped that year. The former were treated as the experimental group, for they had had the additional experience of schooling represented by graduation, and the latter were the control group. In considering the effects of graduation nine years later, in 1935, Mrs. Christensen matched the members of one group against the members of the other on one significant item after another. She then had only 145 in each group.

Thus, although Mrs. Christensen started out with all the individuals who were immediately involved in the problem studied, she arrived at so small a sample that the question may be raised: Is the sample representative? At this point the distinction between a representative sample and a pure sample may be made. The aim is not merely to report on the activities of all the graduates or on all the activities of those who dropped out of school, or to compare nine years later the activities of all the graduates with the activities of all those who dropped out. For these comparisons representative samples would have been needed. An aim in Mrs. Christensen's study was to find out what change in status came about in the lives of the youth who were graduated in 1926 from the St. Paul high schools when all other important differences in their status were counted out. When the aim is to find out what happens as a result of the operation of one factor alone, it is necessary to obtain samples that are as comparable as possible with reference to that particular factor; in other words, to obtain pure samples of the presence and of the absence of a given type of experience.⁶

If identical individual matching is not feasible then the research person may obtain an equated frequency distribution. Instead of matching individual by individual, the matching is done by subgroups. That is to say, the matching is that of an equal number of persons of a given classification, such as economic status, in both the experimental and control groups. The method is not as exact as identical individual matching but often more feasible.

6. When the experimental and control groups have been matched so

⁵ Helen F. Christensen, "The Relation of School Progress, Measured in Terms of the Total Amount of School Attendance or Course Completion, to Subsequent Economic Adjustment," Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1938, quoted by F. S. Chapin, *op. cit.*, p. 99 ff.

⁶ Cf. Chapin, *ibid.*, p. 103.

that all factors except the one to be studied have been eliminated as far as possible, then the reactions of each group are measured against a particular scale of reference that is designed to determine the effects in some pertinent way of the factor being studied. In the Locke-Klausner study of the effects of divorce upon a subsequent marriage, a scale that would measure success in marriage was used,⁷ namely, the Burgess-Cottrell Marital Adjustment Scale.⁸

The use of a correctly developed scale eliminates guess work, subjective reactions of the experimenters, and varied value judgments. The procedure is one that can be followed by other experimenters elsewhere or at a later date with other experimental and control groups. The development of an appropriate scale for objective measurements in a given controlled experiment, if one is not already available, is in itself an extensive and difficult undertaking.

7. In the next place, the experimental group is submitted to a particular program or set of stimuli to which the control group is not admitted. If definite psychological factors are involved as little attention as possible is called to the experiment. Otherwise, the members of the experimental group will begin to rationalize, and a factor in addition to the one that is to be measured will enter into the experimental situation and may distort the results.

Any announcement where psychological factors are concerned may have inhibitory effects on some persons and exhibitionist effects on others. Natural reactions may not be expressed because on one hand negative desires are aroused or on the other hand the desire "to show off" or to help make "a good record for our group."

To the experimental group is submitted the factor whose influence is to be measured for a predetermined length of time, perhaps six months or a year. The time-length is important because it is difficult to keep all the controlled factors constant for too long a time. In this connection the ex post facto type of controlled experiment has an advantage, for it may include a period of years, although here too the longer the time element, the greater the difficulty of taking into account the operations of all the variables which are so characteristic of social situations.

The set of stimuli which the experimental group is to react to is care-

⁷ Harvey J. Locke and William J. Klausner, "Marital Adjustment of Divorced Persons in Subsequent Marriages" (to be published soon in *Sociology and Social Research*).

⁸ E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939), p. 64 ff.

fully planned beforehand and objectively administered. It is so framed that the results of it will test the reliability of the hypothesis as stated at the beginning of the experiment. If, for instance, it is an educational program of some sort, the method of presentation will be as natural as possible, else it will not be feasible to distinguish between reactions to the method used and reactions to the content.

8. At the conclusion of the experimental period the reactions of both the experimental and the control group are measured once more against the scale of reference used at the beginning. Both groups may have changed equally, the control group may have changed more than the experimental group, or the experimental group may have changed more than the control group. At this point the social statistician is called on to determine whether the differences in the reactions of the experimental and the control groups are statistically significant. He does this by the use of such statistical devices as chi square and critical ratio. These methods help to determine, for instance, how far the differences in the reactions of the two groups are due to the experimental factor and how far to chance or to inadequacies in the samples selected.

If the change in reaction to the experimental factor is statistically significant then a conclusion may be drawn as to whether the original hypothesis is supported or not. If supported the research worker can set up a hypothesis concerning some other aspect of the given problem, but if not supported then a new hypothesis may be made regarding the original aspect of the given problem. Of course no one controlled experiment is adequate. The reliability rises when a similar controlled experiment is conducted in many different localities and by a number of different experimenters. The results of any one rigorously controlled group experiment can lead to no dogmatic social conclusion.

9. The statistically significant findings of controlled group experiments may be followed not only by further hypotheses and other experiments but also by obtaining interview and life history data. Considerable refinement has been achieved in interviewing methods. One of these refinements refers to adequate sampling in selecting persons to be interviewed. Another refinement involves checking interviews with a given person against the life history of that person. Much interviewing turns out to be fugitive and superficial when examined in the light of a life history of the person interviewed. The life history gives a basis for interpreting the meanings involved in the interviewee's statements made in an interview.⁹ The findings

⁹ Cf. Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Robert Angell, *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology*, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1945.

of interviews and life histories often give significant meanings to the statistical conclusions. Sometimes they can be framed in the form of hypotheses which may be tested by new controlled group experiments.

The foregoing nine steps or stages in controlled group experiments lead to the formulation of new factual social theory or to the modification of previously stated factual social theory.

Thus far in this analysis the method has followed somewhat closely that developed in the natural sciences. The latter are interested in factual theory, not in normative theory. They are concerned in finding out what is, not what ought to be. They deal with nature, and their problems are factual not normative. The physical scientist, for example, works long and laboriously in finding out how fission takes place. Moreover, on the basis of his factual knowledge he makes reliable predictions which are universally valid not only now but in the future. As a scientist he does not concern himself with value judgments, for nature is entirely impersonal. No ethical factors enter into the actions and reactions of the electrons, protons, and neutrons.

The sociologist is also interested in the nature of social situations and in how they operate so that he too can make predictions that will be universally valid now and in the future provided the conditions remain the same. He has a great deal of work cut out for him in this connection for years and decades to come.

But the social philosopher and the social reformer are interested in what ought to be, that is, in what will improve social welfare. They often jump to conclusions and subjectively manufacture their own normative social theory. But social theory created out of individual wishing or conviction may have little reliability and hence cannot be used for prediction.¹⁰

The sociologist who is interested in controlled experiments does not see how the scientific methods that are familiar to him in developing factual social theory can be used to develop normative social theory. Factual social theory deals with what is, normative social theory with what ought to be; factual social theory is concerned with what is, normative social theory with what isn't.¹¹ Scientific methods that are reliable in developing factual

¹⁰ Cf. Hornell Hart, "Value-Judgments in Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 3: 862-67, December 1938.

¹¹ F. S. C. Northrop, *The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), Chaps. XVI, XVII.

social theory cannot be used in establishing normative social theory. The physical sciences have developed methods for studying what is true about nature but have not developed methods for determining how atoms, for example, ought to act and therefore their methods are not applicable for determining what ought to be in social situations. In developing or creating normative social theory the sociologist finds that the usual scientific methods fail him and that new methods are called for, perhaps those involving deductive reasoning from the basic principles of factual social theory.

Perhaps when sociological principles are derived from factual social theory it will be possible deductively to derive normative social theory from these principles.¹² Also, it may be possible to test the reliability of their deductively derived normative social theory by controlled group experiments. There is no reason why the sociologist cannot test value judgments (once they have been derived) by controlled experiments. Like any other subject matter they may be treated experimentally in order to determine their nature and what the effects may be of putting them in operation in a given group.

¹² On the other hand, Professor Northrop argues that a normative social theory can be reached through the empirical philosophy of the natural sciences, *ibid.*, p. 277.

SOCIAL WELFARE

EUROPE'S CO-OPS AS WE SAW THEM. Cecil R. Crews, editor. Chicago: The Cooperative League of U.S.A., 1947, pp. 96.

This document includes eye-witness reports by American cooperative leaders who attended the 16th Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance, held in Zurich in 1946, and who also visited various European countries in connection with their attendance at the Congress. These eye-witnesses were H. A. Cowden, T. A. Tenhune, Glenn Thompson, Jim Cummins, W. J. Campbell, R. Schakel, and P. L. Green. Their informal observations in the main indicate a remarkable rejuvenation of the cooperatives in Western European countries. Evidence of a real cooperative spirit and a sense of social responsibility was found to be greatest in Sweden and noteworthy in Scotland. The size and strength of the cooperatives in England impressed the American visitors, but there seemed to be a tendency there "to drift into the arms of the state." However, the English cooperatives have helped to keep the country from going fascist. Fifteen excellent photographs are included in the booklet. Cecil Crews has done a fine job of editing; in fact, he has done more, for he has contributed important factual data regarding the International Cooperative Alliance and also the cooperative enterprises in France, Denmark, and Germany.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. Selected Papers. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. xi+512.

Gertrude Springer and her editorial committee have done a fine piece of editing. The paper by Dean Arlien Johnson as president of the National Conference of Social Work for 1947 heads the list. It is entitled "Science and Social Work" and presents three assumptions: (1) man's inherited human nature has changed little in thousands of years, (2) culture varies widely and changes rapidly and thus it frequently does not meet human needs, and (3) the methods of science can be applied to the study of human relations.

The other papers in this volume have been grouped under nine headings as follows: international aspects of social work, national economic and social issues, responsibility of government, the citizen organizes for social welfare, concepts and trends in case work, particular areas of social work, social group work and recreation, education for social work, and national mental health. It is significant that four papers are given on the international aspects of social work, seven on national and social issues, and six on

the responsibility of government. Nine papers appear on case work as against only two on group work. In the particular areas of social work, child welfare and delinquency are favored. Education for social work seems to have been slighted, for only two papers deal with this important theme. The content of the *Proceedings* as a whole maintains the high standards of the best among these reports which have been presented annually to the public for three quarters of a century. Space forbids analysis of the trends in social work indicated in some of the more important papers.

E.S.B.

THE LABOR LEADER. By Eli Ginzberg, assisted by Joseph Carwell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, pp. xiv+191.

Labor leadership, a phenomenon of industrial capitalism, with roots deep in the conflicts arising out of the marriage of technology and private property, both resembles and differs from leadership patterns in other organizations. Such is the hypothesis that Professor Ginzberg proposes to test for purposes of contributing to an understanding of leadership in general and labor leadership in particular. Beginning his study with some of the well-known generalizations on leaders and leadership, his next step is an examination of the background of some American labor leaders, here defined as executive board members of the ten unions selected for study. In defending this concentration on executive board members, the author avers that factual data are more available for these than for other leaders, and that the union presidents are generally picked from these. In a sense, this means that the study is devoted to an analysis of the fledglings of leadership.

The findings: a majority of the executive board members are native born, the foreign born being found in those unions with a large foreign-born membership; they come from the working class and have only completed grammar school; they started to work in their early teens and took ten years to arrive at their union posts; their interest in politics is slight, and, while most are not good church members, they are joiners of fraternal organizations. There is nothing very startlingly new about this, it having been shown once before by Professor Mills. The best part of the book is devoted to a case study of the birth and growth of a local union with attention centered upon the dynamics leading to the rise of its most dominant leader. One such case study is hardly enough to test the hypothesis.

M.J.V.

CONSUMERS COOPERATION IN SWEDEN. By Anders Hedberg. New York: National Cooperatives, 1948, pp. 80.

This booklet is one of the most attractive expositions of the cooperative movement ever published. It is superbly illustrated with many photographs. The author is an eminent Swedish authority on cooperatives, and the subject matter is written in a vivid and interesting manner. The contents give a picture of the current development of cooperatives in Sweden, where the movement has well exemplified the basic principles of cooperation, such as individual freedom, democratic control, patronage refunds to the patrons, independence of government ownership.

The author points out that cooperatives in Sweden are "associations of families desiring to obtain the necessities of life at the lowest possible cost." Cooperatives believe in the policy that "it is better to do a little for the many than much for the few." Considerable emphasis is placed on education in cooperative theory, for nothing is so practical as sound theory. Swedish cooperatives seek out members with capacity to lead, members "who are inspired by an anti-bureaucratic spirit," and put them in key positions. Swedish cooperatives have demonstrated "that great economic enterprises can be efficiently run on purely democratic principles." It is estimated that these cooperatives "on the average, open one new store every day in the year." All social classes are represented and political neutrality is observed. One third of the Swedish people "now belongs to the cooperative movement." Any person interested in individual freedom, social justice, democratic opportunities, widespread peace will find this brief picture of what is going on in one country unusually stimulating.

E.S.B.

ABOUT THE KINSEY REPORT. Edited by Donald P. Geddes and Enid Curie. New York: A Signet Special Publication by The New American Library, 1948, pp. 166.

Eleven well-known writers offer their critical comments on the Kinsey report. These reviewers present to the reader most of the facts reported in the study and present something of the implications to society. Robert MacIver, to cite one of the reviewers, writes that any repressive controls that conflict with widely prevailing practices of a society are undemocratic. With this publication the lay person may be guided as to the merits of this popularly received document. Perhaps the wide attention the Kinsey Report commands may aid in the promotion of similar studies. E.C.M.

THE ROOSEVELT ERA. Edited by Milton Crane. New York: Boni and Gaer, 1947, pp. xiv+626.

The late president is the "hero" not the subject of this story. The book is a collection of essays and speeches by novelists and poets, politicians and journalists of whom some are caustic opponents of the New Deal. However, the editor excluded "all that bitter talk whose origin must be sought in abnormal psychology."

Such a compilation of thought justifies the question: Can brief excerpts of speeches, essays, and some poetry recreate or create for the reader a homogeneous picture of an era which comes close to being "a social history" of the age? The editor attempts to satisfy the requirements for objective historical research by presenting original documents as representative types of the era. Undoubtedly, the "purists" or the "precise" will deny that such a method is scientific because the samples are not the results of compulsive measurements but based upon historical insight. Yet, in the opinion of this reviewer, Mr. Crane demonstrates a rare social understanding in the selection of materials which are capable of conveying a vivid picture of what he chooses to call The Roosevelt Era.

The editor would have done well if he had shown that many of the problems of the thirties were neither unique nor confined to the United States. But, whereas many European countries tried to eliminate the problems of depression with dictators and concentration camps, the American people were able to preserve their way of life. In this way, the Roosevelt Era was unique in recent history.

RICHARD O. NAHRENDORF

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN LABOUR BRITAIN. Edited by N. Barou. London: Victor Gollancy, 1948.

A group of twelve interesting and stimulating essays have been brought together in this compact volume. The editor writes on "Whether Cooperation?" He holds that cooperation began as "a great moral movement destined to be the basis of a philosophy of life," but that in Britain it has confined itself altogether too much to its economics aspects. It needs to emphasize the fact, as once said by William King, that when a man joins a co-operative he "enters upon a new relation with his fellow men, and that relation immediately becomes a subject of every sanction, both moral and religious." The educational program of the cooperatives has in general failed to reach its greatest efficiency and only a small percentage of members feel directly responsible for the major obligations of membership.

The failure of the Labor Government to consult cooperative interests and experience "is so indefensible that it ought not to happen," according to H. W. Twigg. Likewise, the attitude of the socialist is deplored when he

argues that "the continued existence of voluntary cooperation is unimportant," according to the essay by Jack Bailey.

It is pointed out by A. Hemstock that "in a cooperative economy the interests of the consumers and producers are precisely the same, for they are not two separate individuals, but the same people—cooperators." They are both working for the development of "a community directing its own economic and social services so as to insure the greatest happiness and well being of all its members."

W. P. Watkins writes one of the most important essays in the volume on the relation of cooperatives and the community. It is a vital function of a cooperative, often overlooked, to prepare people "for community living by training them in the technique of cooperation." One aspect of cooperative responsibility is to help build "healthy, happy, and flourishing communities on the foundation of modern science and technique." The foregoing statements are samples of many other significant ideas that are presented in this small but thought-stirring volume. E.S.B.

ADMINISTRATION OF GROUP WORK. By Louis H. Blumenthal. New York: Association Press, 1948, pp. 220.

The literature of social agency administration is definitely enriched by this significant book. Though keyed to agencies wherein social group work is the primary method and service, it is a basic book which will be valuable to all agencies whose work is person-centered and democratically oriented.

Mr. Blumenthal combines a thorough review of the literature with a quarter of a century of experience as the executive director of an agency. He writes in a style which is effective in its simplicity and directness. After presenting the development of administration and the elements within it, the author formulates a workable philosophy of democratic administration and concludes the first half of the book with a discussion of the educational techniques necessary for implementing democracy in administration. The remaining six chapters take up the board, the staff, the membership, the community, the administrator, and the agency as a whole. The emphasis throughout is on process. The dynamics of relationship are stressed. The role of the administrator is clearly defined.

One hundred forty-five bibliographical references are included. The book would be strengthened if an index had been prepared. There is a positive quality about this book which says to those who will listen, democracy must be worked at, and the setting of the social agency should be one of its prominent proving grounds. HARLEIGH B. TRECKER

FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION. Report of a Special Committee to the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, 1946. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. viii+325.

This report covers the principal educational problems which concern UNESCO directly and in the final analysis concern all peoples. The purpose of the document is to suggest ways in which UNESCO may proceed in promoting fundamental education in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. As examples, reports are given of educational efforts and objectives for the following countries: Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, French West Indies, Honduras, Mexico, Africa, Union of South Africa, China, India, Southeast Asia, Indo-China, Egypt, Iraq, U.S.S.R. The problems and solutions suggested for these countries indicate the vastness and complexity of the educational program to be handled by UNESCO. Other specialized approaches are represented by separate articles which take up anthropological questions, emphasize the situation of the backward peoples, and consider unique problems of literacy. There is a survey of policy and methods, the scope and content of fundamental education, functions of state and voluntary agencies, problems of language, and community activities and incentives. It becomes evident that not only backward countries but advanced countries including the United States need educational guidance from UNESCO in order to fulfill the goals of the United Nations Charter.

J.E.N.

IF A MAN BE MAD. By Harold Maine. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1947, pp. 435.

Harold Maine, the pen name of a former newspaper man, does for mental hospitals what *Grapes of Wrath* and *Black Boy* did in awakening a social consciousness in other fields.

Mr. Maine tells about his scarified interlude from the age of eighteen into his middle life as an alcoholic. His home and love are lost as he sinks lower. He remarries, then loses that wife and home. Dolorous days grew wearier until, as Shakespeare said, "Sharp misery had worn him to the bone."

Bestial guards, indolent M.D.'s, vegetating nurses, and incompetent psychiatrists march through the pages of the book in a nauseating procession. Fortunately for the distraught emotions of the reader, the author here and there illuminates and softens the picture by telling of a Chinese doctor, a proficient social worker, a Good Samaritan nurse or attendant who had a social point of view and a humanitarian heart.

As a new attendant at a California Veterans Administration Hospital the author asked his senior, "What kind of patients do they have in this ward?" meaning manic, schizophrenic, psychoneurotic, active, or deteriorated. The senior attendant shouted, "Nuts. What in hell did you think? Did you expect a college here?" The head attendant gave getting-up orders in this fashion, "Turn on the lights and holler for them to get up. If they ain't out of bed in five minutes, dump them on the floor. There's another plunger in the utility room."

At this institution Mr. Maine meets Mrs. Markham, a nurse. Together they transform the worst ward into order and quiet. Conniving keepers of other wards got the author discharged. After a dramatic hearing, Mr. Maine was reinstated. Vindicated, he resigned to write of the experiences chronicled in this work. Students of social pathology should not miss going through this open door into another chapter of life. IRVIN ALLEN ENGLE

LABOR UNIONS IN ACTION. By Jack Barbash. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948, pp. x+270.

Objectively minded Jack Barbash accomplishes in a most satisfactory manner what he has attempted to do in this book, namely, "to erect a framework from which contemporary union functioning can be appraised constructively" from the point of view of a candid unionist describing and interpreting his own behavior. Author Barbash has been a member of the Ladies Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, and has served as a labor economist with the Department of Labor. Currently, he is a lecturer at the American University.

From his discussion on how and why unions organize to that on what the unions want, he analyzes in his own penetrating way union structure and administration, the processes of collective bargaining, the strike, union leadership, and the extracurricular activities of unions. His insight into the why and wherefore of union activities gives us one of his best contributions. The reasons why unions organize are (1) attraction of the potential income from dues and initiation fees; (2) minimizing wage competition in an industry; (3) reinforcing the claims of its sponsors for position, power, and influence in the labor movement; (4) extending the influence of political ideological groups in the union movement.

Most interesting and significant are Barbash's reflections on his subject. Some of these are (1) no political democracy has offered a more hostile environment to unionism than has the United States; (2) "labor management cooperation in upper-case letters has ceased to have much vitality"; (3) historically, "the Taft-Hartley law marks definitely the end of an era

of federal government sympathy toward the labor movement which began with the passage of the . . . Norris-La Guardia Act," and "marks governmental support of the management interest in the collective bargaining relationship"; (5) "nonpecuniary motivations loom larger in workers' calculations than is realized by many employers"; (6) "it is extremely unlikely that the organized labor movement . . . will lend itself seriously to any revolutionary political upheaval in the United States." Finally, he declares that unions faced with the domination of massive aggregates of industrial and financial managements must reflect upon the problem of how to wield power and conserve democracy at the same time. This study of the mainsprings of unionism is a "must-read" for those concerned with industrial relationships.

M.J.V.

PLAY THERAPY. *The Inner Dynamics of Childhood.* By Virginia Mae Axline. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947, pp. xxiii+374.

The therapeutic possibilities of play and group activities are being recognized increasingly by recreation leaders, group and case workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and teachers. The verbatim case materials provide a basis for the analysis of the therapeutic process. The author describes the nondirective play-therapy situation and the participants, and enumerates the principles of nondirective play therapy. Establishing rapport, accepting the child completely, forming feelings of permissiveness, recognizing the child's feelings, maintaining respect for the child, and permitting the child to lead the way are some of the principles of successful therapy procedures. The implications for education, together with annotated therapy records, are included.

M.H.N.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD. By Hebe Spaul and D. H. Kay. London: Macmillan Company, Ltd., 1947, pp. x+191.

The trade of the world is carried on by individual citizens, by limited liability companies, by cooperative societies, and by city and state governments. This is the framework, as given by the authors, within which they present a popular account of the activities of cooperative associations. They give a brief account of the origins of cooperatives as found in the failures of the industrial revolution and of the resultant machine industry to take into account the welfare of consumers, who were consequently stimulated to organize as individuals, and who in organizing in 1844, at Rochdale, England, and elsewhere, inaugurated a specific cooperative way of life. The methods included (1) control in the hands of individuals and (2) the

return of the savings on purchases to the purchasers themselves after providing reasonable wages to workers and interest to shareholders.

The story encircles the globe: England, Scandinavia, western Europe, eastern Europe, India, China, Latin America, Canada, United States, central and south Africa. The authors do not distinguish sharply between the philosophy of consumers cooperation and producers cooperation. They could also have given a greater emphasis to the social and service aspects of cooperation, particularly to the cooperative way of life. However, they have covered a wide range of the major aspects of the cooperative movement in a small volume.

E.S.B.

THE AGE OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION: 1929-1941. By Dixon Weeter.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, pp. xxi+362.

A cross-section analysis of American life during the depression years is presented in a charming style. The first signs of the coming depression, the stockmarket crash, and the inability of the Hoover administration to comprehend the magnitude of the problem are vividly recalled. The New Deal under Roosevelt initiated experiments in housing, flood control, social security, and labor relations. Unemployment, the major problem of the depression, was never solved. In addition to the policies and programs of federal and state governments to cope with depression problems, Weeter relates the story of popular literature, music, and amusements during this period. This work is the result of careful scholarship and a great amount of work; however, some of the descriptions may appear to be a little too brief.

E.C.M.

THERAPEUTIC AND INDUSTRIAL USES OF MUSIC. By Doris Soibelman.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. vi+274.

Miss Soibelman here undertakes to present an extensive critical survey of the literature pertaining to the utilization of music for therapeutic and industrial purposes. While much experimental work has been done with the use of music in these fields, not much progress seems to have been made in the actual measurement of the effects of music upon either the hospitalized patients or industrial workers. A few investigations have attempted to note the physiological effects upon patients, noting such things as changes in pulse-rate, blood pressure, and respiration, and, psychologically, changes in mood. A little headway has been made in devising experimental techniques for use in industry. The author concludes from her survey that many of the investigated writers have merely given their

impressions instead of objectively dealing with the subject. Valid established techniques which might verify the claims of the therapists are lacking. Suggested for the future are studies carried on through the co-operative efforts of the clinician, the psychiatrist, and the musician so that definite programs may be forthcoming. These may then be utilized to determine the field of music in hospital and factory. It might have been interesting for some readers to have had Miss Soibelman include in her survey a study of what the great philosophers of the past wrote about the practical uses of music.

M.J.V.

PROTECTING OUR CHILDREN FROM CRIMINAL CAREERS. By John R. Ellington. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948, pp. xxxi+374.

This book is chiefly a description of the California Youth Authority and its functions in dealing with the problem of juvenile delinquency. The first part deals with background factors of crime and delinquency, presented in a piecemeal fashion with little effort made to present a systematic analysis of causal factors. The chaos, cruelty, injustices, and ineffectiveness of traditional criminal justice as it is administered throughout the country are described. Against this background, the author traces the development of the American Law Institute's concept of a state agency for rehabilitating delinquent children and youthful offenders through a constructive process. Since California was the first state to inaugurate such a program, the central portion of the book is devoted to a discussion of the correction at the state level. California Youth Authority involves three types of activities in the correctional field: (1) diagnosis, (2) training and treatment, and (3) replacement of offenders in the community. Each of these is described and compared with the traditional procedures and facilities. The last part of the book deals with services to all youth at the community level.

M.H.N.

THE CHINESE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT. By Kuo-Fu Chen. Nanking: The China Cooperators' Union, 1947, pp. 48.

This booklet gives an up-to-date and over-all picture of the cooperative movement in China. Its sponsor, The China Cooperators' Union, was founded in 1926 and is the earliest cooperative educational organization (in the modern sense) in China.

Interesting sentences in the booklet are: "The cooperative idea was developed in ancient China," "A sound cooperative movement is to be found in sound financing," "The success of the cooperative movement depends upon the development of cooperative education."

The 161,000 cooperative societies in China represent nearly a full repertoire of types of organizations: credit, supply, producers, marketing, utility, insurance, consumers, labor, transportation, and utilization. Agricultural production and marketing societies stand at the head of the list in point of numbers; credit societies come next; then consumers and supply societies. The new constitution of China provides for cooperatives; it states that "cooperative business shall be encouraged and protected by the government." The author, who is secretary-general of The Cooperators' Union, concludes by saying that if "a general cooperative movement comes into being, a sound foundation will be laid for democracy." E.S.B.

MENTAL HYGIENE. By Herbert A. Carroll. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947, pp. 329.

Mental hygiene is no longer limited to an academic interest in the description and causes of maladjustive behavior. It is now vitally concerned with *prevention*, in order that mental life may be preserved. Carroll makes the observation that formerly psychology limited itself exclusively to the consideration of variables which could be controlled. Human nature, according to the author, is much too complex to be explained in terms of measurements which can be made with instruments borrowed from physics. Psychology is attempting to explain the dynamics of human behavior. Thus, "although less scientific, it nevertheless holds more promise for a thorough understanding of human nature."

About one third of the book is organized around the following four basic needs: emotional security, mastery, status, and physical satisfactions. Individual chapters are devoted to motivation, frustration, psychoneuroses, the school and community, mental superiority and deficiency, and the role of measurement. Perhaps the chief virtue of this book is its concise definitions of mental deviations. A well-chosen group of examples and case histories of neurotics are supplied to offer illustration and give meaning to the text. Students will find this work worth while. E.C.M.

OPIATE ADDICTION. Alfred R. Lindesmith. Bloomington, Indiana: Principia Press, Inc., 1947, pp. xii+238.

In the extensive literature on the problem of drug addiction this work should gain an important place, for it is based on careful research. Not only is it a thorough analysis of the nature of the opiate habit, but opiate addiction is described as a social problem and the means of control are analyzed.

The chief conclusion regarding the nature of addiction and the reason for its persistence is that the "opiate habit rests fundamentally upon the effects which follow when the drug is removed rather than upon the positive effects which its presence in the body produces." Hence, the complex of attitudes which constitutes the essence of addiction is built up chiefly by the use of the drug to alleviate or avoid withdrawal distress. This explains not only the manner in which addiction becomes established but also the essential features of addiction behavior. If this conclusion is correct, medical cures of the habit are more or less futile. The addict needs sympathetic understanding and group support. The withdrawal distress has organic aspects, which fact must be recognized, but the social aspects of the problem must be taken into consideration in any effective program of reform.

M.H.N.

RACES AND CULTURE

THE NEGRO GHETTO. By Robert Weaver. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948, pp. xii+404.

The center of attention in this book is the housing of Negroes in the United States, particularly in the North. In Negro housing "a bad situation is constantly getting worse." There are too little shelter and too high building costs. The most obvious housing problems are high costs, overcrowding, physical deterioration, general social disorganization; less obvious is the acceleration of single class and racially restrictive neighborhoods.

The Negro ghetto is a Black Belt from which the occupants can escape only if they move into another well-defined Negro community. It does not house, as ghettos once did, people of a different and peculiar culture, for the Negro ghetto is composed of people who are "American to the core, who are a part of the national culture." These Negro ghettos are found all the way from Boston to Los Angeles.

The author discusses what was done to alleviate Negro housing problems under the various federal housing agencies and authorities during the war. The nonsegregated patterns that developed in some government housing projects constitute a new direction in housing and give "a ray of hope."

The villain in Negro housing, according to Dr. Weaver, is "restrictive covenants." Although his study was made prior to the recent Supreme

Court decision regarding restrictive covenants, the author discusses most if not all the basic problems involved. Among his conclusions are the following: (1) The best protection to values in high-rental "neighborhoods contiguous to present Negro occupancy is adequate space and housing facilities for the colored population elsewhere." (2) As a result of restrictive covenants, "many lose, a few gain." (3) "The rapid and panic-inspired movement of the whites" out of an invaded white neighborhood, "not the movement of a few Negroes in," leads to the fall in property prices in that neighborhood. (4) The acceptance of a minority group in many newly established communities "involves modification of individual and uncoordinated attitudes; in established neighborhoods, it involves modification of community-wide opposition." (5) In order to solve the Negro ghetto problem, an adequate supply of housing, particularly on new land, is necessary. (6) Planning for democratic neighborhoods, not for standardized ones "for one kind of population" is needed. (7) A sound national housing program is another need. In these and many other conclusions the author indicates the vigor with which he has attacked the Negro housing problem in the North.

E.S.B.

THE NEGRO NEWSPAPER. By Vishnu V. Oak. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1948, pp. 70.

The Negro Newspaper is the first volume of a series of books on Negro business planned by Dr. Oak. The series was planned because the author found, after intensive study, that very little "worthwhile literature on Negro business" had been published. *The Negro Newspaper* was selected as the "first of the series because of my conviction [the author's] that a critical evaluation of the Negro Press is overdue."

In this volume the author presents favorable and unfavorable criticisms of the Negro Press that should be of value to all who are interested in the development of Negro newspapers. Many of the problems confronted by publishers serving the Negro and other minority population groups, as well as the problems involved in attempting to unify this important medium of communication, are made clear. One of the illuminating points touched upon by the author is the extent to which several Negro newspapers have been able to shed personal opinion and prejudices and adopt an objective approach in news presentation. He makes excellent suggestions for the improvement of the Negro newspaper, and the appendixes give a comprehensive bibliography of data on the Negro Press and a complete directory of Negro newspapers and college publications.

In many ways this volume fails to provide an objective evaluation of the Negro Press. Instead it offers a personal evaluation. Subjectivity prevails throughout the volume. This is especially true of the chapter entitled "A Critical Evaluation of the Negro Newspaper (Unfavorable)." Furthermore, in this chapter the author fails to mention the unfavorable criticisms of the Negro Press that were presented by Warren H. Brown and others several years ago, but freely uses the findings of his own undergraduate students to support many of his unfavorable criticisms. Because of its subjectivity the volume fails to serve the purpose intended by the author. However, it does serve to point out the need for a critical evaluation of the Negro Press from an objective and scientific point of view.

E. S. RICHARDS

Texas State University for Negroes

THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES. By E. Franklin Frazier.
New York: The Dryden Press, 1948, pp. xxii+374.

This revised and abridged edition contains the basic content of the earlier edition (1939), which was published by the University of Chicago Press, except that the appendices, the comprehensive bibliography, the tables in the body of the book, and some of the detail material have been omitted. The tables and the elaborations of the earlier edition have been summarized, the 1940 census data have been incorporated, and the effects of World War II are pointed out. Ernest W. Burgess comments enthusiastically in the preface that it is "the most valuable contribution to the literature on the family since the publication, twenty years ago, of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki." Certainly, it is by far the most outstanding book on the development of the Negro family in this country.

The organization of the material follows a familiar pattern, beginning with a description of the Negro experience "in the house of the master," followed by discussions of the various stages of development through the "house of the mother" and the "house of the father" to the disintegration experience in the "city of destruction," and eventuating in the period of rebirth. In each stage the family was forced to make adjustments to changing conditions. The wide variations in family life and the lack of uniformity of behavior among Negroes are pointed out. It is incorrect to speak of the Negro family as constituting a uniform type. Within scarcely more than a century and a half the Negro family in the United States has emerged from its relatively simple preliterate cultural background and passed through various stages to the modern family types with a brighter future in prospect.

M.H.N.

THE BALANCE OF POWER: THE NEGRO VOTE. By Henry Lee Moon.
New York: Doubleday & Company, 1948, pp. 256.

This book is posited upon the belief that "the Negro American today sees in the ballot his most effective instrument in the long and hazardous struggle" toward obtaining full citizenship in the United States. Mr. Moon traces in considerable detail the experiences of the Negro with regard to his rights under the Fifteenth Amendment, which gave him the franchise in 1870, although he has not been able yet to exercise it in certain regions of the United States. The problem is treated from the historical viewpoint; the many details are source materials for further sociological investigation.

In Chapter X, "Dixie in Transition," are recorded the ways in which here and there in the South inroads are being made upon a general denial of the vote to Negroes. The account is exceedingly sordid when measured against democratic ideals and "the American way," and yet it would do no good in the long run to whitewash the many devices which have been used to keep Negroes from exercising the right to vote as given to them in 1870.

The author reports that "large-scale Negro voting has returned to the South to stay," and predicts that "not later than the presidential election of 1956, Negroes will be voting in all the southern cities as freely as they do in Boston or Detroit or San Francisco." However, the free vote in the smaller towns and in the rural areas "will be slower in coming both because intimidation can be made more effective in those areas and because the people are not as well prepared as in the cities." The author concludes by asserting that what the Negroes want in this postwar world is "full equality and the elimination of Jim Crow." This is a demand which has begun to well up from the Negro masses; they will not accept a negative answer many more years—if the spirit of this book on the Negro vote is representative of Negro attitudes.

E.S.B.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. By Arnold Rose with a Foreword by Gunnar Myrdal. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948, pp. xvii+325.

It is a real achievement to reduce *An American Dilemma* from 1,024 pages and 45 chapters to 325 pages and 18 chapters, and still receive the commendation of the original author, Gunnar Myrdal, as follows: "The present volume is a faithful condensation, expertly done and true to the spirit of the whole undertaking." The author of this volume played an extensive role in the gathering of the data and the preparation of the manuscript for *An American Dilemma* and hence occupied a strategic position

for preparing a condensed edition. Professor Rose has contributed the concluding chapter on "America at the Crossroads" in the abridged edition.

To those persons who have not read the original study, the American Dilemma may be defined as the struggle between the democratic ideals of equality and "the obvious lack of equality" accorded the Negro in the United States. "Parallel with this internal struggle in the white man's mind has grown the Negro demand for equal treatment and integration into the nation." Today, when the United States has become a world power, her "treatment of the Negro is rapidly becoming known throughout the world." Moreover, the colored peoples of Asia and Africa today are judging the American creed by the way the Negro is treated in the United States. The colored peoples comprise two thirds of the world's population and are receiving a strong bid for their support today, as never before, by Soviet Russia. Thus, the American creed is being weighed.

Although this book and the original edition were sharply critical of the failure of the United States to live up to its creed of equality, they nevertheless express an optimistic view of the matter: "The long trend in American history is, in spite of temporary periods of reaction, a continuous development toward liberalism and democracy." Further, fundamental changes in American race relations are taking place which "involve a development toward the American ideals."

E.S.B.

A READER IN GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By Carleton S. Coon. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948, pp. xx+624.

Reading assignments in a college class is a problem, especially if the library does not have enough copies of whatever books a teacher may desire to use. This situation is particularly serious at the present time in schools that have large enrollments of students. Therefore, a source book of reading materials, such as the one prepared by the author, is of special value. Furthermore, the subject matter of anthropology is enormous and the source materials are scattered widely in reports of actual observations and field studies. The author decided to study whole cultures rather than specialized phases of them, and these cultures are analyzed on the basis of the levels of complexity, beginning with subhuman society, which is level zero, and simple family bands, and passing to bands that contain several families, the rise of specialists and multiple institutions, the rise of hierarchies and compound institutions, and to complex political institutions, such as the Athenian Democracy and the Imperial Rome. The selections are interesting chiefly because they represent for the most part eyewitness accounts of various levels of culture. Students are exposed to firsthand materials rather than to armchair generalizations. M.H.N.

ZULU WOMAN. By Rebecca Hourwich Reyher. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. xiv+282.

This is a story of Christina, first wife of Solomon, King of the Zulus, as related in person to the author. It is shown to be a trait in the character of the Zulu male to have little or no sympathy for the feelings of the female sex, whereas the Zulu women experience much the same emotions as do the women of civilized peoples. Native Zulu customs and attitudes have been influenced, however, by Christian missionaries and white settlers. A striking example of this is the divorce Christina received from the king because her conscience could not agree to polygamy, though the king and natives could see no wrong in that form of marriage.

The author offers an anthropological and psychological narrative which provides insight into the process of cultural change among the Zulu people. This is an excellent example of how a social system disintegrates under the impact of the white man's civilization.

J.E.N.

FIJIAN VILLAGE. By Buell Quain. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. 459.

This account of the everyday lives of the natives of the village of Nakoroka on the Fijian island of Vanua Levu is based upon the study and experiences of a ten months' residence with the Fijian people during 1935 and 1936. The first three chapters are a historical survey describing the general setting of a people undergoing acculturation. This section includes an account of the cultural, religious, and military conquest of the Fijians by invaders from the Polynesian island of Tonga who brought to the Fijians ideas chiefly of caste, taboos associated with the person of the chief, organization under the chieftain's rule, and the Wesleyan form of the Christian religion. The remaining nine chapters describe the households of Nakoroka, the means of livelihood, their castes, priests, kinship, life cycle, ceremonies of life crises, status and wealth, and social cohesion.

The author attempts to present these major topics through a detailed study of each major person in the community. In doing this he uses the personal names of characters involved and jumps from one episode to another in such a way that it is difficult for the reader to obtain a clear picture of the persons involved or the problems they represent. The chief value of the book is that it is a collection of observations which may be of help to others who wish to make a more penetrating and thorough study of Fijian life or of the social structures and processes which may be comparatively illustrated from Fijian life. There is a good index for this purpose.

A. R. CROUCH

I HAVE LIVED WITH PEOPLE. By Manuel Buaken. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1948, pp. 358.

The publishers have rendered the author and the public a fine service in producing an attractive volume. The contents give the autobiographical story of a Filipino who had an exceptional home background in the Philippines and who came to the United States at the adolescent age of fourteen to study for the ministry but who became a writer and public speaker instead. The author frankly recites his experiences in the United States and keeps his poise well despite many bitter experiences revealing discrimination and prejudice on the part of numerous citizens of the United States. Anyone who has personally felt as many injustices as this Filipino had to undergo in a country which prides itself on its democracy and Christianity is entitled to express himself frankly and vigorously.

Mr. Buaken was forced to work the hard way in order to achieve a livelihood and to get ahead. A great many details regarding names of people where Mr. Buaken has been employed are furnished the reader who has any doubts about the harshness of many of the author's experiences. Not many Americans would undergo such adverse discrimination in finding employment, obtaining adequate housing, having recreational opportunities, and being recognized as a human being, and come through these experiences with as understanding a spirit as does the author. A new and better attitude toward the Filipinos in the United States as a result of World War II and of the Philippine's status as a nation is noted as a hopeful sign.

E.S.B.

THE TRIBES OF THE LIBERIAN HINTERLAND. By George Schwab. Edited by George W. Harley. Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1947, pp. xx+526.

This report of the Peabody Museum Expedition to Liberia is exceptionally comprehensive and well organized. The general nature of its content is indicated by the following topical sequence: physical aspects of the country, tribes and their traditions, village and village life; agriculture and time reckoning, domestic animals, fishing, trapping, and hunting; food, drink, and narcotics; dress, adornment, and hygiene; handicrafts and utensils; music, dancing, and games; social organization and trade, sex, childhood and child training; war and weapons; death and burial customs; religion, cults, and metaphysical concepts; medicine and occult practices, leechery; divination, oracles, and science; native law; proverbs, riddles, and folk tales; native character traits.

The book contains a brief but useful appendix on the Mano language and an extensive glossary of native words. Each of the topics mentioned above has been worked out with quite uniform richness of detail, with an emphasis on the origins, meanings, and functions of culture traits and patterns. There are 111 figures to illustrate cultural objects, living conditions, and the people themselves. The report as a whole impresses one with its cultural unity.

The plan for investigation and report sets a high standard for ethnological studies, made possible because of George Schwab's remarkable ability and personality and his long acquaintance with the people studied. Special commendation for his able editing has been earned by George W. Harley, who has added material of his own. In this thirty-first volume of its reports the Peabody Museum makes another valuable contribution to ethnological literature.

J.E.N.

INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OF STUDENT YWCA'S. By Yolanda B. Wilkerson. New York: The Woman's Press, 1948, pp. xv+159.

In this evaluative study of the interracial programs of campus Y.W.C.A.'s and of practical steps for enhancing the effectiveness of these programs, the inquiry was limited to the consideration of three minority groups, Jews, Japanese Americans, and Negroes. The findings are based on (1) the responses of 163 student associations, (2) the responses to questionnaires by 93 former Association members, and (3) five years of campus visitation by a secretary of interracial visitation. Most of the Y.W.C.A. programs included in this study were functioning in medium-sized or small institutions.

A few of the findings may be noted here. (1) Little discrimination against minority students on most campuses was found in regard to eating in cafeterias, participating in athletics and in bands or orchestras, using swimming pools, using the Y.W.C.A. or Y.M.C.A., attending church, or attending movies. (2) Discriminations are "most marked in such close personal and social relationships as eating, dating, and membership in sororities and fraternities." (3) "Discriminations against Negro students are more prevalent and sharper" than in the case of other groups. (4) "Weakening of minority group discriminations in college towns" is taking place very slowly if at all, and much less than on the campuses. (5) The goals of the interracial programs are "clearcut statements of changes to be effected in the conditions and relationships of minority students on the campus and in the community," but only one fourth of the Y.W.C.A.'s

that were studied have "goals" in their interracial programs. (6) Few interracial programs are based upon preliminary analyses of interracial programs. (7) The interracial programs do not involve large numbers of the Association members. A total of twenty-three recommendations are made by the author for the improvement of campus interracial programs. Studies of this type will have stimulating effects on many campuses.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL THEORY

TOWARD WORLD PEACE. By Henry A. Wallace. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1948, pp. 121.

Henry A. Wallace argues for a realistic understanding between the United States and Soviet Russia as the initial and most significant move toward peace. Both major powers must agree on the geographical limits of expansion and the political zones of influence. After the geographical pattern is agreed upon, the two economic systems may compete against each other for the status of most effectively producing and distributing goods and services to their respective consumers. Wallace admits the foibles of Russian communism. For instance, he criticizes the USSR severely for its naïve acceptance of dialectical materialism as the explanation of everything in the universe, contrasts its rigid and absolute thought control with the freedom of expression in the United States, and is shocked by the stories of slave labor camps in Russia. He agrees that the way the communist parties outside of Russia supported Hitler in 1940 and 1941 indicates too clearly the danger of centralized control from Moscow.

Wallace believes that a great world economic recovery program is needed, especially for the backward countries of the world. He does not believe in supporting the questionable governments of Franco Spain, Chiang China, and the elected royalty of Greece. He sees a mistake in building up western Germany as an arsenal. He does not trust the maintenance of world peace to professional soldiers. In short, he champions Roosevelt's humanitarianism against Churchill's imperialism.

In the concluding chapter Wallace outlines the goals of the New Party. Peace, social security, civil rights, and a planned progressive capitalism seem to be Wallace's platform. Perhaps Dr. Albert Einstein's comment on the book is worth observing: "If you read it carefully without prejudice and with detachment, you will have to agree with its fundamental premises—at least that is the only way I see it."

E.C.M.

IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES. By Richard M. Weaver. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. 189.

Has modern man become a moral idiot? This is one of the disturbing thoughts which philosophically inclined author Weaver presents to his readers in this provocative attempt to show that through unintelligent choice man has made his intelligible world into a world of slaughter, penal camps, and mass psychosis. Some further indictments against modern man are his failure to detect reality because of the denial of everything transcending experience, his industrious acquisition of particulars mistakenly understood as the possession of knowledge, and his preference of "shoes for philosophy."

Experience does not tell us what we are experiencing, and the ability to describe some tiny bit of the world with minute fidelity does not bring understanding, declares the author. The abundance for simple living has been replaced by the scarcity for complex living. The new prophets for reform fall into two classes, the "sentimental humanitarians" and the "remorseless theorists who pride themselves on their freedom from sentimentality."

Man created in the divine image has been replaced by the wealth-seeking and animal-consuming man. Disturbing as these materialistic implications are, there is some possibility of arresting them. Reconstruction will depend upon the restoration of intelligent choice, the right use of reason, and the acceptance of truth—a truth not derived from and dependent upon sensation-derived facts, but one revealed by the intellect transcending experience. Those who believe that the senses are capable purveyors of reality should ponder for some time over what Professor Weaver has so capably written here.

M.J.V.

LAWYERS, LAW SCHOOLS AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE. By Esther Lucile Brown. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1948, pp. 258.

Lawyers play a dominant part in government, which is America's greatest industry. Their role has become increasingly important; their functions have become varied and specialized as the state and federal governments have grown in size and complexity. It is therefore necessary to consider whether lawyers are being provided a professional education adequate to serve the needs of government. The author of this monograph is deeply concerned over the question whether Americans in high position are living up to their obligation to serve the public with intelligence and competency as well as with integrity and unselfishness.

Among changes which must be faced in American colleges of law, "public law" courses need to be taught from the viewpoint of public administration. The training for private practice needs to be altered to provide a better comprehension of government administration which concerns the private lawyer. Not only does the legal curriculum need revision, but certain teaching methods need more careful consideration for improving legal preparation for responsible public service. In-service training and apprenticeship training in Washington offices may be developed.

The book is the result of several years of intensive research, with personal visits to many colleges and universities for inquiries where educational processes were actually under way, and the author's findings represent mature judgments which suggest the development necessary in America if free society is to be preserved.

J.E.N.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF BEHAVIOR DISORDERS—A Biosocial Interpretation. By Norman Cameron. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947, pp. xxi+622.

Characterized both by clear exposition and skillful and adroit use of illustrative materials, Dr. Cameron's account of the behavior disorders is excellent. Although writing as a psychologist and medical psychiatrist, he does no injustice to the role of sociologist. His early discussions of personality, attitudes, role-playing, conflicts, and basic adjustive techniques will be welcome in any standard course on social psychology. Taking the biosocial point of view, "the biological organism operating in and by means of a social environment," the author places his emphasis upon "communication, learning, role-taking and socially derived self-reactions" for an explanation of both normal and abnormal behavior. "Behavior disorders," he declares, "are relatively fixed crystallized patterns of maladaptive attitudes and responses." These are classified as hypochondriacal, fatigue, anxiety, hysterical, paranoid, schizophrenic, and manic and depressive disorders. In sketching the meaning of these in societal situations, he offers some good objective and explanatory materials. The clean-cut and positive definitions of terms are noteworthy contributions of the book. Especially commendable is the definition of personality, i.e., "the dynamic organization of interlocking behavior systems that each of us develops through learning processes as he grows from a biological newborn to a biosocial adult in an environment of other individuals and cultural products." The book concludes with an excellent construct of biosocial behavior in the therapeutic situation.

M.J.V.

COOPERATIVE DEMOCRACY. Fifth edition. By James Peter Warbasse. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948.

Dr. Warbasse's analysis of cooperative democracy through voluntary association of the people as consumers is widely known. The explanatory note on the title page gives the scope of the book: A discussion of the cooperative movement, its philosophy, methods, accomplishments, and possibilities, and its relation to the state, to science, art, and commerce, and to other systems of economic organization.

The fifth edition maintains the same structure and chapter organization as the preceding edition, but shows that Dr. Warbasse has carefully revised the work throughout. New and significant paragraphs appear in every chapter, and a rewording of numerous sentences and ideas is found throughout. Thus, this edition actually reflects Dr. Warbasse's thinking as of 1947. The changes do not represent changes in principles or other fundamental concepts of cooperative democracy but rather a perfecting of ideas previously expressed or a taking into consideration of new data. As a result, the size of the book, using the same type face and page format, is increased from 285 to 324 pages.

Space permits the restatement of only two of Dr. Warbasse's basic ideas about cooperation, namely, that cooperation involves centralization of administration and decentralization of control and that cooperatives are examples of free enterprise and through voluntary association make statism and governmental control unnecessary. Like the previous editions, which have been translated into German, Japanese, Bulgarian, Chinese, Yugoslav, Turkish, French, Portuguese, and Spanish, the new work will be widely and deservedly read by increasing numbers of people, for its sets forth principles that are basic to a democratic and a peacemaking world.

E.S.B.

SOCIOLOGY. By Kewal Motwani. Bombay: New Book Company, pp. xii+196.

Two approaches to the study of man are described in this interesting book. The American approach to the study of human relationships stresses the use of objective instruments and places a great emphasis upon the "ordinary senses." On the other hand, the Indian approach purports that meditation and reflection are the keys to timeless and spaceless concepts. The author attempts to offer both points of view so that an integration of these approaches may be appreciated. A strong statement is made for the establishment of sociology in the university curriculum of Indian institutions. Motwani is the type of practical idealist that India needs. E.C.M.

SOME NOTES ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PIERRE JANET. By Elton Mayo. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. vii+132.

Professor Mayo writes that the book is not intended for medical students or for those who have a special interest in the problems of psychiatry. Yet the author deals with such subjects as "Hysteria and Hypnosis," "The Complexity of the Attentive Act," "Obsessive Thinking," "Obsession and the Equilibrium Hypothesis," and other psychiatric topics.

The case histories, presented to illustrate Janet's theory and therapeutic techniques, are the weakest part of the book. This weakness is not overcome by a mere passing reference to Freud or to recent developments in the field of industrial psychology. Mayo's discussion of the "simple rules for the conduct of any clinical interview," appears to be out of place in a book which has been written primarily for administrative workers. Objectionable, too, is the author's use of the term *insane* in a discussion dealing with emotional and mental behavior, for *insanity* is a legal and not a psychological term.

Mayo indirectly asks why Freud and not Janet became so well known in the United States. He does not give the answer to this challenging question. One may ask in return: Is Janet so utterly unknown among students of psychology as the author assumes? If so, it appears to this writer that Mayo's book does not remedy this lack. The fifteen-page appendix, a lecture by Mayo on "Frightened People," seems to be the most helpful discussion for the student of social science.

RICHARD O. NAHRENDORF

FRANCIS LIEBER. *Nineteenth-Century Liberal*. By Frank Freidel. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947, pp. xiii+445.

Francis Lieber was a German immigrant who became prominent as an outstanding scholar at South Carolina University and Columbia University. As a young man he fought in the Battle of Waterloo, participated in the Turner Movement, and lived in Rome as a protégé of Barthold G. Niebuhr. He arrived in America in his late twenties. In addition to his university teaching he found time to edit the first edition of *Encyclopedia Americana*, wrote the famous General Orders 100, which became standard operating procedure for American armies in occupied countries, and in numerous situations risked his security for his intellectual convictions. No doubt some of the fame of Columbia University as a great institution of higher learning must go to the ambitions and works of Lieber. While this excellent biography of Lieber is certainly objective and scholarly, it is written with a certain charm that makes every page a delightful adventure.

E.C.M.

MANAGING YOUR MIND. By S. H. Kraines and E. S. Thetford. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. 374.

Books that seek to make psychology intelligible and helpful for the layman have been numerous in the past few years. This book, one of whose authors, S. H. Kraines, is assistant professor of psychiatry at the University of Illinois Medical School, is one of the better books of this sort. The chapters consist of a series of talks to those who may be afflicted with tensions, phobias, and symptoms of all varieties. Some case studies of sufferers are presented in an effort to make the book as objective as possible. For some of these sufferers, the final refuge has been the office of the psychiatrist, and for such cases the advertising matter on the jacket of the book would appear to be misleading, since it tells prospective readers that they may find their own paths back to health and serenity through reading it. The advice presented is soothing and generally helpful, and the authors are careful to admonish readers to make sure that their doctors have found no organic diseases lurking behind their symptoms. A wide variety of topics is offered, including sex and marriage, energy expression, achieving maturity, and changing social nature.

M.J.V.

CIVILIZATION AND RELIGION, An Argument about Values in Human Life. By Charles William Hendel. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948, pp. 77 (The Rockwell Lectures on Religion delivered at Rice Institute, March 1947).

Mr. Hendel discovered, through his experience as a teacher of philosophy in the United States Army, that the crisis situations of army life were more significantly stimulating to social and philosophical thought than the normal campus and classroom environment. The men and women who have returned to the schoolroom from such critical life situations have brought with them a seriousness and a spirit of inquiry which pleases philosophers of Hendel's type.

The author bases his approach to such students upon the hypothesis that through "imaginative reading of the books about Socrates, Abraham or Job we can learn about their faith and make their experience contemporary for ourselves; but we cannot substitute it for our own. The ultimate trial of each individual is one which he has to stand alone in the crisis of his own time." Consequently he makes no attempt to "prove" things, "not even the existence of soul or of ultimate realities or forms of order or of God." His primary objective, as a teacher, is to relate the experiences of Socrates, Moses, Plato, and others to the contemporary problems of his individual students.

In answer to such questions as "Are not justice and good will eternally real?" "What is the form of Idea?" "How can we show concern for the common welfare in a world dominated by competition?" "Why should a man play according to the rules of the game when the majority of men are not observing these rules?" "How can one live in an immoral order and retain his own soul?" the philosopher and his students turned back the pages of history to see how other individuals had answered these same questions.

The chief value of this book is its example of approach to problems which always issue from crises and its attempt to develop a living link between the solutions for which contemporary students seek and those sought by the ancients. Although the range of thought is far too limited to be a reference for either civilization or religion or philosophy, it does contain some thoughtful statements which will be of interest and of some challenge to the contemplative reader.

ARCHIE R. CROUCH

THE LOGIC OF THE SCIENCES AND THE HUMANITIES. By F. S. C. Northrop. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. xiv+402.

This book is first of all a collection of essays in the field of logic and then a discussion of social science with some consideration given to such problems as world understanding and world peace. While sociologists will be interested in the logic of the sciences, their special attention will focus on the author's discussion of social science.

Northrop distinguishes between factual social theory and normative social theory. The first involves a hypothesis and facts, but "if there is even one fact out of accord" the hypothesis will need to be changed. The second "designates what ought to be rather than what is." It differs to a degree from the facts in the case. Natural science methods are appropriate for determining factual social theory but not normative social theory. Of course factual social theory can include norms as its subject matter, but it does not include them as factual data. Factual social theory is developed by observation of data, description, and classification, but normative theory differs in both its nature and its method of verification. Science can handle problems of fact but not problems of value.

The author calls for "a scientific method which gives verifiable social theory," and asks what the method for verifying normative social theory is. Basic to every social norm is an ideology or system of ideas, and basic to this system is a philosophy. A normative social theory is found by measuring it against the empirical philosophy of the natural sciences.

Since a normative social theory differs from the facts, one can never obtain the "ought" or the "good" for a group from the "is" for that group. It would seem therefore that normative social theory cannot come directly from factual social theory. It operates in a different intellectual universe. A factual social theory about a given society is "a body of propositions designating a state of affairs which is completely in accord at every point with what exists," while a normative social theory describes "a possible state of affairs for a given affair."

When the author points out that problems of value rise in culture and social life he makes them the subject matter of cultural anthropology, social psychology, and sociology, and he points out a scientific procedure for studying norms and value. Since values do not rise in nature, the natural sciences have not been called on to develop scientific methods for studying them. The challenge is to the social sciences alone.

In discussing world problems today the author argues for a Bill of Rights "in which all the differing ideologies of the world gain expression, each one in part at least." Also, such a Bill of Rights will guarantee freedom for scientific and philosophical research into the basic premises of the conflicting ideologies so that means may be developed "for transcending and resolving the ideological conflicts of the contemporary world." This review is quite inadequate, but at least it gives samples of the author's thinking and indirectly raises questions for further discussion. E.S.B.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL
1946-1947. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948, pp. 91.

The Social Science Research Council, which came into existence in 1923 as a nonprofit organization dedicated to the advancement of research in social science, is composed predominantly of representatives of the fields of anthropology, economics, history, political science, psychology, sociology, and statistics, chosen by their respective national organizations. The Council (whose address is 230 Park Avenue, New York 17) receives donations for special purposes and endowments: it dispenses grants to advanced graduate students and "mature scholars." Both grants to individuals and total yearly disbursements are of significant size, the average grant being \$675 and the total disbursed being \$518,000 in the period 1946-1947. While a major part of the Council's work revolves around the aforementioned activity, it is also deeply interested in the coordination of research planning and the development of research personnel and techniques.

ALFRED SHEETS
Willamette University

THE INNER WORLD OF MAN. By Frances G. Wickes. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948, pp. 313.

For the proponents of Jung's psychoanalytic theories the interpretation of these theories accomplished through the presentation of case histories may be judged as being eminently satisfying and somewhat exciting exploration. For those who desire an easy way of gathering information about many aspects of the Jungian theories, the book may be just the right thing. Mrs. Wickes, one of Jung's better-known students, introduces the concepts of ego, persona, shadow, anima and animus, and the self in six nicely delivered expositions. From her considerable experience as a psychological consultant, she has selected some concrete illustrations for revealing the methods by which the innermost thoughts and tensions of her patients have been brought to light. Dreams, phantasies, and visions stalk through the pages in a series of remarkably well told and absorbing episodes. The final portion of the book is reserved for an explanation of the significance of drawing in the interpretation of what goes on in the mind disturbed. A most interesting series of some of the drawings made by several of the patients is presented. The author states that these serve to illustrate the inner images which exist in the unconscious of everyone. All in all, it is an interesting and illuminating text.

M.J.V.

THE IMPACT OF THE UNDISTRIBUTED PROFITS TAX 1936-1937. By George E. Lent. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. 203.

In 1936 the United States Congress passed a tax measure designed to accomplish three objectives: (1) encourage the distribution of earned corporate surplus income; (2) remedy existing tax inequities, whereby persons deriving their income from corporation investments paid a smaller tax than those obtaining their income from wages and salaries; (3) eliminate excessive, unproductive savings and get them into the hands of the consumer, whose increased purchasing power would then stimulate production and prosperity.

Although repealed in 1938, the tax provided an economic experiment whose effects upon the socioeconomic structure have been carefully and painstakingly examined by Dr. Lent. Among other factors examined are the influences of the tax on corporation dividend and credit policies, and the methods used by corporations to avoid the incidence of the tax; the effects on business growth and tendencies toward monopoly; the impact of economic stability; and the effectiveness of this form of taxation compared with alternative methods.

The chief findings of the study are (1) the tax did promote greater distribution of surplus earnings than would otherwise have occurred; (2) the tax, by increasing spending power and reducing savings, probably accentuated short-term cyclical business fluctuations; (3) by compelling the distribution of earnings, the tax forced many businesses to seek funds for expansion in the capital market, where the smaller corporations found themselves at a great disadvantage. The large corporations, however, able to obtain funds through flotation of securities, financed their expansion with little difficulty. This tended to promote concentration of industrial control and bigness. Finally, the tax, by increasing consumer spending, probably led to a higher level of national income, as well as to a better relationship between savings and new investment.

To his judicious evaluation of the tax the author has added certain suggestions for reform, basing his recommendations upon British tax policy and experience. These recommendations provide a constructive conclusion to a study which, in its scientific approach and dispassionate, exhaustive analysis, provides a model of research technique toward which students and investigators in the field of social science may well aspire.

MELVIN NADELL

REASON AND UNREASON IN SOCIETY. By Morris Ginsberg. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. vii+347.

These sixteen essays are divided into three groups. The first deals with sociological theory and methods, the second with nationalistic problems, and the third with morals and law.

In the first section appear analyses of the works of Hobhouse, Westermarck, and Pareto. Sociology is defined as the study "of the web or tissue of interactions and interrelations," and its problems are described as including (a) social structure, (b) social function and control, and (c) social change. Social development is considered as having two aspects: (a) changes in tradition and (b) an extension of the cooperative elements in human relations. The author finds that "an enormous movement of unification is apparent throughout most of human history," and perhaps "in an underlying assimilation or convergence in science, art, religion, and culture generally." In the latter regard Professor Ginsberg sees "the emergence into the consciousness of men of the sense of their unity and of the need for reconciling the requirements of order and liberty on a world scale."

In the discussion of the life and work of Westermarck it is concluded that Westermarck is correct when he states that there is "no difference in principle between the moralities of different peoples regarding the subjects

of moral judgments." The essay on "Anti-Semitism" stresses first of all the tendency of non-Jews to attribute to Jews in general the offensive qualities noted in a few. It is this practice of generalizing against a whole group as a result of adverse experiences with a few which creates widespread race prejudice. A related tendency is to label certain undesirable qualities as specifically Jewish when as a matter of fact they are "common among many other people, e.g., vulgarity, pushfulness." Moreover, there is a tendency to overlook desirable qualities in Jews and a tendency to condemn certain qualities if expressed by Jews and to condone them if expressed by one's own group. Then there is calumny, or charging Jews with undesirable behavior of which they are not guilty.

There are several other excellent essays in this collection, for example, the essay on "The Causes of War," the one on "The Unity of Mankind," and the concluding discussion on "Moral Progress." This progress the author finds in the universalizing of moral responsibility, in the internalizing of the conscience, and in the growing "rationalization of the moral judgment." The essays are disconnected except as they are tied together by an underlying interest in mankind and by a common stylistic treatment. The ideas contained in them are far reaching and for the most part clearly and logically presented. The title of the book is somewhat awkward.

E.S.B.

THE YEARBOOK OF PSYCHOANALYSIS. Edited by Sandor Lorand. New York: International Universities Press, 1947, pp. 309.

This book is a compilation of twenty-one papers and essays from various published sources. If one may assume that a Yearbook of a professional or scientific society presents the most leading paper of its particular field, then the following trends appear to be predominant in nonheretic psychoanalytical thought: (1) increasing emphasis upon Freud's scientific "discoveries" rather than his contributions to a new therapy, (2) use of sociological knowledge in psychoanalytical research (conflict and group aspects), (3) contributions of psychoanalysis to general psychiatry resulting in a redefinition of psychiatric terminology and classification of mental illnesses, (4) finding of constant elements in neurosis leading to a fixed body of therapeutic knowledge, (5) use of psychoanalytical theory combined with statistical studies in research on race relations.

The following papers appear valuable for the student of sociology: E. F. Brunswik and R. N. Sanford's "The Anti-Semitic Personality. A Research Report"; Otto Fenichel's "Some Remarks on Freud's Place in the History of Science," "Introductory Remarks to Psychoanalysis and the Theory of Neurosis"; and Walter Bernard's scholarly paper on "Freud and Spinoza."

RICHARD O. NAHRENDORF

POPULATION ANALYSIS. By T. Lynn Smith. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948, pp. xiv+421.

This book is an introduction to demography, the scientific study of population. It varies somewhat from introductory books in this field ordinarily labeled "population problems," especially in its avoidance of the pathological emphasis, and in the smaller amount of space given to philosophical and speculative phases of the subject. However, most of the data that are essential for an introductory course in population are included. The composition of population is examined in terms of residence, race and nativity, age, sex, marital status, education, occupation, and religion. The vital processes are discussed in terms of fertility, differential fertility, the declining birth rate, mortality differentials and trends. Several chapters on migration deal with national and international aspects of the problem.

The book begins with a descriptive statement of the number and distribution of the population of the various countries of the world with, of course, a separate tabulation of states and sections of the United States; the arrangement of the book as a whole builds logically on this foundation. Finally, there is a brief discussion of growth of world population with emphasis on the growth of population in the United States. The author has worked out unique methods in the use of maps and figures as visual aids for the student, with less formal tabulation of columns of figures than is characteristic of books in this field. The exposition is brief, clear, and well defined. Recommended readings and questions for discussion round out the pattern of the textbook. This book as a whole should appeal to teachers and students of population. One may easily add to it the treatment of population theories and any pathological population problems if wanted in a college course. The treatment by this author is, however, intriguing and practicable.

J.E.N.

INSIGHTS INTO LABOR ISSUES. By Richard A. Lester and Joseph Shister, editors. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, pp. x+368.

Despite the fact that no common point of view has been adopted by the editors in their selection of the thirteen essays which comprise their volume, it has considerable general excellence as a whole. An emphasis, made well in the first essay and carrying over indirectly into the other essays, is that the main objectives of research in labor-management relations should be (1) "to analyze the impact of a strong labor union movement on the business enterprise system" and (2) "to measure influences of the relationships between unions and employers on social and political institutions of the nation." The recognition that social, psychological,

political, and economic factors play a vital part in the determination of industrial relations and that there is need for more extensive research case studies involving these factors is set forth as a basis for improving these relationships.

The essays are grouped under three general headings: labor relations, wages and the labor market, and labor and full employment. One of the most interesting essays of Part One is the analysis by Joseph Shister of union-management cooperation, which takes into full account the social psychological factor of the attitudes brought into the social situation by the parties involved. Richard Lester's discussion of some recent wage studies points out that wage decisions under industry-wide bargaining are "likely to be more sensible and far sighted, taking into consideration the economic interests of the whole industry . . ." Each essay will be found to have discussed some important problem in labor relations whose solution is essential for the construction of policies by unions, management, and government.

M.J.V.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HUMANITY. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. Boston: Beacon Press, 1948, pp. xii+247.

The author's general interest as expressed in this book is in peacemaking, and his special interest is in principles of procedure whereby society may become peaceful. He deals with quack political cures for war, with false economic cures, with faulty scientific, educational, or religious plans. He finds that democratic forms of government are ineffective in preventing wars, although it is probable that the autocratic factors in democracies are responsible and not whatever measure of democracy may be operative. The author finds the United Nations to be "shot through and through with cancerous self-contradictions." He also contends that "a purely external unification of all mankind under the sovereign rule of a world government would merely substitute civil wars for international wars."

A constructive hypothesis is presented in terms of altruism as distinguished from egoism as the way to peace. However, there are gradations of altruism and many of the current expressions of altruism are insufficient. The author lays stress on what he calls creative altruism, and takes up the various social factors that must be changed if creative altruism is to be achieved in the family, school, church, nation, and other social institutions. He argues that "a person or group cannot be altruistic in a thoroughly selfish environment." To be altruistic, people as a rule must be reared and live in an environment that honors altruism and not selfish living. An altruistic society of egoistic members cannot survive. Creative altruism of

the purest type acts for its own sake and not "from any considerations of pleasure or utility." Altruism is defined as "a special kind of creativeness in the field of goodness, entailing principally ethical values in distinction from the cognitive values of truth, realized primarily by science, philosophy, and religion, and the values of beauty, realized predominantly by the fine arts." Creative altruism requires active effort; it has "to be practiced incessantly."

The personal factors in creative altruism are the energies of man, the structure of personality, and the constructive use of the existing knowledge of how the behavior of man may be transformed. A vital aspect of the argument is found in self-altruization, which involves developing control of biological and physical functions. The conscious must learn to control the unconscious, and the superconscious must learn to control both the unconscious and the conscious; the superconscious boils down to the incessant practice of kindness and love. Transformation of the personal, the cultural, and the social are called for, with the "effortful transmutation" of the personal slightly preceding the others, but with all three undergoing transformation together.

The author's negative criticisms of present-day life will be hard to refute; the need for a creative altruism is everywhere evident; the methods of bringing about the altruization of persons, culture, and social life call for further elaboration and extensive experimentation.

E.S.B.

THE FEDERALISTS: A Study in Administrative History. By Leonard D. White. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, pp. xiv+538.

In this volume the author begins a systematic study on American ideas about public administration. His immediate purpose has been to explore the origin and growth of the opinions that Americans now possess about public management. He shows that during the period from 1789 to 1801 the Federalist influence was dominant in the development of government and administration according to the new constitution; the Republicans, on the other hand, shaped their political philosophy and opposed many of the administrative ideas of the Federalists.

The author has drawn remarkably fine character sketches of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Pickering, and others, pointing out in each case the ideals which were influential as sources of contemporary attitudes toward administrative policies. White shows how fortunate this country was in having the guidance of George Washington and an outstanding group of assistants in laying down the groundwork for federal administration, the basic patterns of which have continued to this day. The

principal characters have been allowed to speak for themselves. Personal conflicts between Hamilton and Jefferson, and between Hamilton and Adams are dealt with in realistic manner to indicate the personal and party struggles concerning issues of historic importance.

This study shows from what modest beginnings the large, complex departments of federal administration have grown, and what difficulties obtained in allocating some of the most important functions of administration during the first decade. With sympathy and understanding, the author shows what a truly great influence Washington exerted on the implementation of the federal government. While other leaders like Hamilton and Jefferson have left their mark on American administration, the permanent influence of Washington was far greater. The need for national sympathy and unity from the very beginning of the federal government, working in cooperation with the several state governments, is also stressed by the author. Anyone who wishes to understand the psychology of American political administration cannot afford to overlook this interesting book.

J.E.N.

MEDICINE MAN'S MISSION. By Richard Carle. New York: Psychological Press, 1948, pp. 128.

If you believe that "the masses of the people are far too little educated for critical political thinking and far too little interested in it," and that "the convictions of men are determined by their economic and political surroundings," this book will appeal. In it the author attempts to show that all social phenomena are brought about by ways of magic induced by magical delusions. Held responsible for this chaotic state of affairs are the propagandists who depend for their livelihood on selling wares charged with emotion. Some good comparisons are made between the medicine men of old and the radio commentators of today. As a corrective, he would have cool, detached investigations moving society to the realm of clear and hard objective reality. For the security of the United States, in particular, Carle hits upon the formula of producing a better magic than that of Russia, the creation of the "Mythos of the American Century." If interpreted correctly, this means a great, powerful America, sending forth its own brand of magical persuasion. The book has many good points but suffers from a paradox, i.e., leading the reader on to a belief that the medicine man can be replaced by the scientific man only to acknowledge finally that the "medicine man's magic is the bloodstream of life, is God's and the Devil's instrument alike." It seems illogical to state that God would condescend to use the same instrument as the Devil. Were He to do so, He would be less than God.

M.J.V.

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY: VALUES IN CONFLICT. By John F. Cuber and Robert A. Harper. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948, pp. xviii+394.

The authors use the Fuller-Frank-Waller frame of reference for the analysis of social problems because of its consistency with the amoral position of the sociologist-analyst, making it possible to make a realistic study of value positions of interest groups and classes advocating points of view, and the emphasis that problems may emerge in a society as the result of changes in the value structure. Also, data and theory may be kept in better perspective for a sociological treatment of problems. The basic point of view for the scientific understanding of social problems is more important than the presentation of data regarding these problems. As the subtitle indicates, problems are analyzed in terms of values in conflict. The core of a social problem is a condition which is regarded by a considerable number of individuals as undesirable and as requiring social action. The multi-sided conflicts of interests and value-judgments are significant factors. To isolate and define the conflicting value-judgments which are the *modus operandi* of the problem is the chief job of a sociologist.

After a brief discussion of the nature of the dynamic society, the meaning of "social problem," and the concept of treatment, a selected series of social problems in America are discussed, including income, health, crime, social class, race, education, recreation, family, and government. This is followed by a briefer treatment of American ideologies and value, in which the social disorganization concept is re-examined and considered as a misleading interpretive concept because it has implications of moralization rather than of objectivity and does not clearly differentiate between "disorganizing" and other forms of social change. Yet the term is not entirely given up.

There may be less objection to the theoretical framework, or to the desirability of such a framework, than to the application made of it to specific problems, for the authors fail to consistently apply their own theory to the problems under consideration. The difficulties of such an application are obvious, for it is well-nigh impossible to isolate and state clearly all of the fundamental judgments of values involved in situations or to indicate the underlying conditions of problems. A broader interpretation of social problems in terms of social processes operating in society, including values in conflict, would have given a wider theoretical base for the analysis of specific problems. The discussions of types of problems are brief and the references and study questions are limited.

M.H.N.

THE WHITE MAN'S PEACE. By No-Yang Park. Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1948, pp. 252.

Dedicated to the success of the UN, the author gives his readers his five main contentions in the *Introduction*. The supporting data are given in the chapters that follow. The five points are (1) The world will not and cannot become peaceful until a new world order is established in which nations can afford to give up their preparations for war. (2) A "state of anarchy, intertribal or international, is the sole cause of war." Without a world organization to preserve justice among nations militant cultures will survive. (3) The possibilities of a peaceful world order are fairly good because the world has become so small and warfare has become so destructive that nations cannot survive without establishing a universal authority. (4) The UN "points in the right direction toward world peace under an organized authority based on law." (5) If the nations fail to unite by voluntary cooperation through the UN, "they will be forced to unite under a universal authority by war and conquest" in the near future.

The author deplores the divided foreign authority in Korea and expresses confidence in the ability of the Koreans to set up a stable government if both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. would retire. He pointedly discusses the conflict in China between the Nationalists and the Communists and advocates no unilateral intervention but a united policy carried out through the UN. At any rate, China should be delivered from the rival policies, as such, of the Big Powers in the Pacific region.

The author writes in an interesting style, with clear-cut comprehension of what he is discussing, with an up-to-date reading knowledge, with a firsthand understanding of both Oriental and Occidental points of view. His proposals are worthy of careful consideration by statesmen and common people alike.

E.S.B.

THE WAYS OF MEN. By John Gillin. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1948, pp. xviii+649.

This book on cultural anthropology has been written as a contribution to the "science of human relations." But do anthropologists assume responsibility for the entire task of studying man and his culture? The author emphasizes that "Anthropology, in short, takes the whole species of man as its subject-matter and the entire inhabited planet as its field of investigation." He posits, further, "Our main objective is an understanding of mankind in general, not of anthropologists alone."

Part I of this book makes a survey of the zoological position of the human species in the animal kingdom, the principal topics being the organic

structure of primates, man's fossil predecessors, hereditary varieties of modern man, etc. In Part II the author undertakes to show how culture patterns function and operate. His approach is psychobiological. Here he stresses the social elements out of which culture emerges, cultural situations, the principles underlying the learning and performance of customs, human physiological resources as the raw material of culture, and the role of acquired drives.

In Part III the author shows how human beings must develop patterns of social organization. There is an extended discussion of technics as related to cultural adaptation and its manifestations in Western civilization. There is also a definitive treatment of local and territorial relationships, and of familial and kinship relationships as elements in social organization.

In Part IV the author takes up the activity and patterning aspects of culture. He shows that patterning is of two types: the internal patterning of customs and the patterning of coordination of cultural systems. In the first, organization of activity is within unit-customs; in the second, there is an organization of customs one to another within the total culture. As types of cultural integration, the secular authoritarian and the sacred democratic are examples considered. There is a brief survey of the conditions and processes of cultural change, of the relation of the person to his culture, and of current trends in cultural anthropology.

The book reveals originality in organization and interpretation. If the author had not intruded with the pronoun "we" so often, the writing would have been improved. Otherwise, the style is pleasing enough.

J.E.N.

CARTELS OR COMPETITION? The Economics of International Controls by Business and Government. By George W. Stocking and Myron W. Watkins. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1948, pp. xiv+516.

According to the authors "a cartel is an arrangement among, or on behalf of, producers engaged in the same line of business, with the design or effect of limiting or eliminating competition among them." Germany is the birthplace of the modern cartel. After World War I privately operated cartels developed extensively and during the Great Depression the governments of a number of countries sponsored cartel arrangements for regulating the export of sugar, wheat, coffee, tea, and also rubber and tin. However, private cartels are more numerous and more important than government-sponsored ones. The operation of private cartels is not always easy to observe. They operate across national lines but are subject

to no international laws. Their development is pronounced in such fields as mineral raw materials, heavy chemicals, and so forth.

The charges against cartels are summarized as follows: Cartels tend (1) to make prices unnecessarily high, (2) to use price discrimination as a means of suppressing competition, (3) to foster underinvestment and to keep high prices rigid, (4) to protect high-cost producers, and (5) to restrict output and thus reduce employment. Several suggestions are proposed as means of keeping public and private cartels from exercising bad industrial effects: (1) reduction of tariffs and removal of quantitative trade restrictions, (2) controlled policies for encouraging international investments, (3) constructive procedures for stimulating free enterprise and free competition, and (4) support of the International Trade organization. Russia cannot be counted on to take part in such a program because of her fear of "capitalist encirclement" and of her belief that capitalist nations are basic enemies of a collectivistic order. The findings given in this book have the support of the Special Committee on Cartels and Monopoly of the Twentieth Century Fund. The book will appeal because of its objective and thorough treatment of a complicated and subtle world problem.

E.S.B.

FREEDOM AND REFORM: ESSAYS IN ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY. By Frank H. Knight. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. x+409.

This volume includes fifteen essays which have been assembled and published through the initiative of certain of Professor Knight's students and junior colleagues. The author is more commonly known as one of America's leading economists, but he is significant also as a social philosopher. In these papers he deals with the nature of social science and its relation to social problems and the place of the methods and concepts of natural science; he shows that freedom is endangered by treating human phenomena and problems in terms of the concepts and methods of natural science.

The theme of the author that freedom is the distinct value of modern civilization, and that liberal society represents an important moral advance over other cultural patterns and ideals, provides a thread of continuity for many of the essays. He also stresses the problem of power, which he considers essential to freedom. These papers interpret freedom, political trends, economic reform, socialism, religion and ethics in modern civilization, the meaning of democracy, the rights of man and natural law, human nature and world democracy, and other subjects of timely value.

As an example of his understanding of the interrelations of the several disciplines, he takes the view that "the idea that the social problem is essentially or primarily economic, in the sense that social action may be concentrated on the economic aspect and other aspects left to take care of themselves, is a fallacy." He believes that it will be necessary to outgrow this fallacy if there is to be "progress toward a real solution of the social problem as a whole, including the economic aspect itself." It is shown that while many conflicts which seem to have a noneconomic character are "really" economic, other so-called economic conflicts may actually be rooted in other interests and in other forms of rivalry. There is a satisfying quality of common sense in observations of this kind as applied to problems of reform, socialism, democracy, freedom, and other basic concepts. These essays throw light on many issues of controversial nature, and the views taken deserve earnest consideration.

J.E.N.

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM: CAN WE HAVE BOTH? By Albert Lanterback. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1948, pp. iv+178.

With unusual objectivity and marked restraint the author undertakes to answer the question that is asked by the title of this book. In discussing the problem that is uppermost in the minds of millions of people in many countries, particularly democratic countries, the author tackles first the laissez-faire solution which he pronounces antiquated, and second the totalitarian solution which he considers a pseudo solution. He then proceeds with clarity, candor, and courage to give an affirmative answer to the question raised by the title of the book. He defines and describes a functioning combination of individual freedom and social control. He repudiates state capitalism, for it "organizes private enterprise in a structure of combines, trade associations, and cartels—a structure operated primarily in the interest of private capital groups by their own representatives in the government." He also rejects state socialism, for it is "a centralized system of nationalized enterprises to be operated by a benevolent bureaucracy in the presumed interest of public welfare."

The author advocates social planning subject to parliamentary government based on periodic free elections of the people's representatives and on the constant supervision by the latter "over the general goals and methods of social control" as a safeguard of individual freedom. Social planning can function on a democratic basis "only if it is based on civic education of the average man and woman in responsible participation in

national and international affairs" and in "keeping track of social developments and of taking an active part in them." Inasmuch as the Ford Motor Company plans, the railroads' plan, and city planning have come to stay, must we believe that "planning is wise everywhere except in the commonwealth itself"? When housing conditions are deplorable, why should not the government plan to improve them? When people come to the verge of revolution because of mass insecurity should not the government plan for their security? On the basic idea of limited planning, controlled by a parliamentary system of government and by an intelligent, participant people, supplemented by "international coordination of national controls," the author concludes his argument.

E.S.B.

CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL. By Arnold J. Toynbee. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. vii+263.

Of the thirteen essays brought together in this volume, ten have been published separately and are fortunately reprinted so that the general reader may become further acquainted with this famous historian's views on many controversial issues of critical importance today. The author tells how he acquired and developed his unique view of history, and defines the meaning of the present point of the long view of history. He points out that the Graeco-Roman civilization when viewed as a whole throws light upon our own situation in our own world in our day. In his discussion of the unification of the world he shows that the concept is not new and that certain leaders and peoples, such as Babur and the Turks, have contributed more toward unification than is commonly known. He would relegate economic and political history to a subordinate place and give religious history the primacy in studying Western traditions and trends.

In the essay entitled "The Dwarfing of Europe" it is shown that "Europe as a whole is in process of being dwarfed by the overseas world which she herself has called into existence, while the national states of Europe, singly, are being dwarfed by the federal states of this new world overseas." The author then speculates on the immediate prospects for European and world order, with particular emphasis on the policies of the United States, Russia, and Britain. In "The International Outlook" the problems of a world divided between two powerful nations, America and Russia, are aired, and it is shown how important would be the role of a third great power in promoting world organization for peace.

Several essays, in which he discusses Russia's Byzantine heritage, Islam, and Christianity, emphasize the meaning of religion in civilization. In

these essays, as in his *Study of History*, he uses the concept of a civilization as a unit of historical study, and has found in the universal religions the essential frame of reference for the most comprehensive and fundamental mechanism of history. His use of historical analogy may invite certain criticism, but it is nevertheless a way of showing how the conditions and problems of the present may be explained by considering comparable trends recorded in the past. This makes a good companion volume to associate with his famous *Study of History*.

J.E.N.

SOCIAL FICTION

WALDEN TWO. By B. F. Skinner. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, pp. 266.

If you are interested in domestic, cultural, and behavioral engineering with sidelights on how to plan and control the social environment, this utopian novel may be intriguing enough to read. Unlike its namesake *Walden* in everything but a bigger and better pond, *Walden Two* accommodates a thousand people in the midst of, and yet apart from, the mill-of-the-run surrounding communities. Its government is presided over by a Board of Planners and its various activities are in charge of Managers, who see to it that the Waldenites live most harmoniously and, one might say, beyond good and evil. Infants are brought up in an idyllic manner in a community department and on community love, selfish mother and father love having been dispensed with as ruinous to the disposition of the child. The child's ethical training is finished by the age of six, and during this time planned frustrations have been so introduced that shocks and ensuing aggressiveness may have little or no future bearing upon adult personalities.

Everyone works, the four-hour day being sufficient to earn enough labor credits for both serenity and security. Each talent is discovered and allowed full scope for creative development in this modern, mechanized industrial and agrarian community. For its principal objective in an economic sense, it has a high standard of living with low consumption. For its psychological objective, it has the creative personality, with the emotions of joy and love emphasized and the wicked emotions of hate, anger, and jealousy all but extinguished through a system of behavioral engineering.

Utopian Dr. Skinner is one of the country's better-known psychologists, and what he presents here in the form of a novel is interesting enough at

times, but it has some extended moments of boredom. Whatever plot exists is inconsequential. The novel's meritoriousness must stand finally upon whatever emanates from the sounding board of the Skinner utopian ideology. It has a whole sackful of the weaknesses of some other utopias, even though some of these have been exposed by the engineer of *Walden Two*. Fortunately, it has something to offer in the way of constructive criticism on many of our cultural ways of doing, so damaging to creative personalities.

M.J.V.

CRY, THE BELOVED COUNTRY. A novel by Alan Paton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948, pp. vii+278.

Out of South Africa comes this remarkable work of fiction that tells the story of the social needs of the native people in this great land. The novel was begun in Trondheim, Norway, and completed in San Francisco when the author was investigating various penal systems in Europe and America.

In poetic language of exquisite beauty and simplicity, he relates the age-old story of a parent's grief for a prodigal son. The father of this erring son is a humble Zulu preacher who lives in the hills near Johannesburg. Like many other native youths, the son of this old Zulu is attracted to the "city of evil" and leaves home. For a while letters from him arrive regularly, but as time goes on they come less and less frequently and finally cease altogether.

It is then that the father's long and sorrowful search for his only child begins. Assisted by a few faithful friends, he traces the steps of his lost son among the human backwash of the city. The things that he encounters fill him with sorrow and apprehension for the young people of his race. In their native Africa these young black folk are social outcasts. Unable to cope with the social injustice and racial discrimination in the white man's world, many of these rural in-migrants seek escape from resentment and frustration in delinquent behavior—in crime, vice, and licentiousness.

Among associates such as these the old Zulu preacher's son lost his way. When the father finds him, he is in prison condemned to die for the murder of a white man. By an ironic twist of fate the young Zulu has killed a benefactor of the native race, a man who spent his life fighting for the social rights of the black people.

The novel is a critical analysis of a social order that permits the existence of class distinctions and racial discriminations. It holds the social system rather than the delinquent individual responsible for the prevalence of vice and crime among the native population.

CECIL EVVA LARSEN

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